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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1803

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CONTENTS

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Briefs
Yugoslav Ballet Troupe in Albania 1
Albanian Artists to Macedonia 1
RCP Delegation to Hungary Visit 1

ALBANIA

Briefs
Marko Activities 2

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

United Action of Workers Under Capitalism Urged
(HORIZONT, No 14, 1980)..... 3

Cooperation with Social Democrats, by Werner Paff
Focus on European Workers, by Harald Neubert

Arbitration Court for Foreign Trade Disputes Described
(Heinz Strohbach; HORIZONT, No 17, 1980) 20

Danes Propose Exchange of GDR Spy for Political Prisoners
(AKTUELT, 10 Jul 80) 24

HUNGARY

Briefs
Collision Claims 19 Victims 26
Mexican Delegation's Departure 26

Conservation Workplan With Mongolia 26
New Checkpoint to Romania 26
Vietnamese Delegation's Arrival 26

POLAND

Universal Medical Examinations for People 40 and Over Initiated
(DZIENNIK USTAW, 10 May 80) 27

Briefs
Tunisian Envoy Presents Credentials 30

Romanian-Cypriot Economic Commission Meets in Bucharest
(AGERPRES, 24-27 Jun 80) 31

Proceedings Begin
Economic Protocol Signed

Spanish Foreign Minister Oreja Interview Reported
(AGERPRES, 3 Jul 80) 32

Members of Higher Council for Education, Instruction
(BULETINUL OFICIAL, 22 May 80) 33

Lax Punishment for Economic Violations Criticized
(Dragomir Horomnea; MUNCA DE PARTID, May 80) 42

Briefs
Ambassador to Ivory Coast 46
Merit Award 46
RCP Cables Greek Communists 46
Colombian Parliamentarians Visit 46

YUGOSLAVIA

Comprehensive Economizing Program for Navy Outlined
(Vladan Karadzic; MORNARICKI GLASNIK, Mar-Apr 80) 47

Observation, Reporting, Notifying Alert Service Charted
(M. Trajkovic; FRONT, 30 May 80) 53

Discussion of Milovan Djilas' Book About Tito
(Heiko Flottau; SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 27 Jun 80) 57

Professor Jovan Diordjevic Discusses Self-Managenet
(Jovan Djordjevic Interview; RAD, 27 Jun 80) 60

Conflict at Factory Over Naming of Director Sketched
(Svetislav Spasojevic; NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE,
1 Jun 80) 69

BRIEFS

YUGOSLAV BALLET TROUPE IN ALBANIA--The People's Provincial Ballet Theater troupe from Pristina has arrived in Tirana at the invitation of the Tirana Opera-Ballet Theater. It was headed by (Drita Draboshi), deputy chairman of the Assembly of the Autonomous Socialist Province of Kosovo. It will give ballet performances in Tirana and other cities. It was met at the airport by the director of the cultural section of the district executive committee of Tirana, the director of ballet and opera, and artistic and cultural workers. A group of artists presented the troupe with a bouquet of flowers. [AU171014 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 16 Jun 80 AU] The ballet troupe of Pristina gave a performance in Tirana on 21 June. Attending were workers, youths and others. Also attending were Spiro Koleka, vice chairman of the Albanian People's Assembly Presidium; Tefta Cami, minister of education and culture; Esha Ulqinaku, minister of the light and food industry; Ksenofon Nushi, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Dritero Agolli, chairman of the Albanian Union of Writers and Artists; and Branko Komatina, Yugoslav ambassador in Tirana. In honor of the ballet troupe the Ministry of Education and Culture hosted a dinner which took place in a fraternal atmosphere. [AU212000 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 21 Jun 80 AU]

ALBANIAN ARTISTS TO MACEDONIA--At the invitation of the Artistic Cultural Association Xheladin Zeqiri of Tetova, the artistic ensemble Isuf Myzyri of Elbasan, headed by Sul Dedej, head of the section of education and culture of the district people's council executive committee, left Albania on 17 June for performances in Macedonia. The ensemble was seen off by Shpresa Pallhysa, secretary of the district people's council executive commi*tee, and others. [AU181155 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2000 GMT 17 Jun 80 AU]

RCP DELECATION TO HUNGARY VISIT--At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, a Romanian delegation led by Valeriu Pop, head of a subdepartment of the RCP Central Committee, visited Budapest between 26 and 28 June for the purpose of coordinating the 1980-81 cooperation workplan between the two parties. The delegation was received by Janos Berecz, member of the central committee and head of the central committee's international relations department. [Text] [AU011246 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Jun 80 p 21]

CSO: 2500

BRIEFS

MARKO ACTIVITIES--A regional aktiv on dissemination of advanced experience and scientific work of agricultural enterprises to agricultural schools was held in Fier on 17 June. Attending were leaders of various agricultural schools and specialists from Elbasan, Berat, Lushnje and Vlore districts. Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Central Council of the Albanian Trade Unions, presided over the aktiv. Rrapi Memisha, chairman of the Fier District Trade Union Council, delivered a report on the problem. The aktiv then continued with discussions on the topic. Those who spoke suggested that the agricultural schools should be turned into scientific centers for disseminating advanced experience. [AU192116 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 17 Jun 80 AU]

CSO: 2100

UNITED ACTION OF WORKERS UNDER CAPITALISM URGED

Cooperation with Social Democrats

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 13 No 14, 1980 signed to press 31 Mar 80 pp 8-9

[Article by Prof Dr Werner Paff: "Requirements of Joint Action--Current Tasks in the Struggle for Unity of Action of the Working Class in Capitalist Countries"]

[Text] In publishing the present article, HORIZONT is continuing a series intended to provide additional material, especially for the propagandists and participants in the party study-year seminars "For the Study of Basic Problems of the Global Revolutionary Process" (3rd study year). The present article is to aid the seminar on Topic 7: "The Tasks in the Struggle for Unity of Action of the Working Class in the Capitalist Countries and for the Establishment of a Broad Alliance of All Anti-imperialist Forces. The Need for a Consistent Critique of Social Reformism and All Symptoms of Opportunism."

One of the outstanding results of the struggle waged in the last few years by the working class and large segments of the population is the fundamental fact that it has been possible to maintain world peace against the opposition of the most aggressive circles of international monopoly Capital. On the European continent, the policy of detente initiated by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states has made marked progress. Even though political detente has not yet been complemented by military detente and extended to the other regions of our globe, this policy has made an imprint on the life and consciousness of the nations.

Analyzing the aggravation of the international situation at the end of the 1970's, Erich Honecker stated: "The crucial question is whether political detente will be complemented and thus consolidated by military detente or whether a new round in the arms race with all of its burdens and dangers for the nations will be initiated."[1] More then ever, a successful struggle for peace, detente and effective arms limitation calls for the concerted

action of all of the forces present in the working class. It is only through unity of action that the working class can become the fulcrum of the broad peace movement. Under the new conditions, the working class, its parties and organizations must assume greater responsibility.

Growing Responsibility of the Working Class

The successful operations in support of the policy of detente and against the production and stationing of the neutron bomb in certain NATO countries--which operations were to some extent supported even by government circles--are evidence of the growing responsibility of the working class in the imperialist strongholds. In regard to the movement in the FRG, which extended over several months, Herbert Mies stated at the Mannheim DKP [German Communist Party] Congress: "The joint opposition by Communists, Social Democrats, Christians and Independents against the neutron bomb demonstrated that in our country, too, it is possible to launch effective drives in support of peace. This movement, in which the Committee for Peace, Disarmament and Cooperation has played a mobilizing role, is exerting concrete influence on the course of events. Its actions and arguments have not only aroused a favorable response among the working people, but have also strengthened the position of realistic forces in the ruling circles. Joining the worldwide movement aimed at proscribing the neutron bomb, it has helped to prevent for the time being the planned introduction of this inhuman weapon of destruction."[2]

In the last few years, the combative operations launched by the working class in the capitalist countries in defense of social accomplishments and democratic rights have more and more unequivocally assumed a political character and turned more and more openly against the state monopoly system. This reflects the predominant influence of real socialism as well as the growing influence of the Communist parties of capitalist countries. Some of these parties were able largely to overcome the barriers which had been erected during the years of the Cold War and which had impeded their activities; for example, the Communists in the FRG regained legality in this way. In many capitalist countries--e.g. in Portugal, Spain and Greece--they succeeded in broadening their scope of action and extending their influence. In the light of the development of the policy pursued by the Communist parties of the nonsocialist countries, Erich Honecker stated: "On the basis of the experience gained in the last few years, they defined their long-term strategic programs and alliance-related objectives and focused their attention on the further strengthening of their solidarity and fighting power. At present, the fraternal parties of the capitalist countries are making diverse attempts to create mass-movements against the stationing of the new nuclear U.S. rockets in Western Europe and in support of military detente and disarmament."[3]

Without ignoring the difficulties that still hamper cooperation between the various parties and organizations of the working class, one can justly say that the class struggles of the last few years have tended to further unity

of action of the working class: Firstly, there are the attempts at cooperation--both on the national and the international level--on the part of the various trade unions; for example, in Italy, France and other countries, almost all of the great strikes--on the national as well as on the enterprise level--are launched only upon consultation among the large trade union associations. Secondly, the contacts between communist and social-democratic parties have been intensifying. In some countries, the cooperation between them--assuming various forms, proceeding at different levels and being at times temporary--has been making headway in the last 10 years in particular.

In order to prevent these tendencies of the 1970's from further developing in the 1980's, imperialism has been intensifying its efforts to weaken the communist parties through a new wave of anticommunism. Under these conditions, unity of action assumes even greater importance.

There is another reason why unity of action with the social-democratic workers is increasingly important: In view of the peace-threatening policy of imperialist circles and the close interconnection between the power of the monopolies and that of the imperialist state, there is an increasing need for broad antimonopolistic alliances. The key problem in regard to the establishment of such alliances is the unity of action of the strongest and most consistently anti-imperialistic force, the working class.

In spite of the indefatigable struggle waged by the communist parties for unification of the working class and workers' movement, the movement is still disunited in the capitalist countries.[4] Imperialist ideologists and the mass media in the developed capitalist countries continue to set up ever new political and ideological barriers among the workers, who through thousands of ties are linked with the capitalist environment and exposed to the ideological influence of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The unevenness of the economic development of the individual capitalist countries, the diverse systems and methods, through which the monopoly bourgeoisie exercises its power, and many other factors give rise to disparate and in part mutually antagonistic parties and organizations of the working class.

In particular, the monopoly bourgeoisie makes use of opportunism to split the working class and prevent it from accomplishing its historic mission. The anticommunism of rightist-opportunistic forces and the social-reformist obscuring of the capitalist conditions make it difficult for large segments of the working class to perceive the objective unity of their class interests. Moreover, since their experience in the class struggle is quite disparate, the methods by which they safeguard their interests differ. This in turn gives rise to organizations that differ in regard to their respective levels of political awareness and organization. Furthermore, the working class comprises numerous organizations that represent specific working class interests (education, leisure-time activities, solidarity, etc.).

Unity of Action the Key Problem

The communist parties do not reduce the policy of unity of action to their relationship to the Social Democrats. But they pay a great deal of attention to the social-reformist trends in the workers' movement and to the developmental and differentiation processes in its ranks, since the "continuous and extensive cooperation between Communists, Socialists and Social Democrats...could become one of the crucial factors in regard to the safeguarding of peace and social progress. It would significantly increase the political potential of the international workers' movement and of other democratic forces in the struggle against the threat of a new world war, against the arms race and the predominance of the monopolies."[5]

In all of the capitalist countries of Europe, there are--in addition to the communist parties, which command approximately 30 million votes--social-democratic and socialist parties, whose membership totals approximately 13 million. Some of the social-democratic parties exercise considerable influence on the voters. In some capitalist countries, they share governmental power, while in others they represent a politically significant force in their capacity as parliamentary opposition.

Even though the opportunistic nature of the social-reformist parties has not changed, some of the social-democratic parties have in the 1970's undergone certain differentiations, e.g.

--in regard to the problem of war and peace;

--in regard to the relations between numerous social-democratic or socialist parties and the communist parties--both the communist parties in the socialist states and those in the individual capitalist countries;

--in regard to the problems concerning the relationship to the international monopolies;

--in regard to the developments in the so-called Third World.

However, in order to be able to evaluate in all of its complexity the present position of international Social Democracy, one must take into consideration two premises: Firstly, the class-related inconsistencies of social-democratic policies and ideology and secondly, the fact that in the conflict between socialism and imperialism most of the leaders of international Social Democracy are siding with the latter, evidence of which is the fateful rocket resolution adopted at the party congress of the West German Social Democrats.

The convergence of the standpoints and the partial identity of the interests of Communists and Social Democrats do not by any means come about automatically. They must be realized against the opposition of the anti-communist, anti-unity forces of international Social Democracy and in the face of the numerous obstacles persisting in the 1980's.

Evidence of the recent changes in the relations between Communists and Social Democrats is the exchange of views between delegations of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party in the fall of last year. In the communique of this conference, concerted action involving all of the leftist forces was considered imperative in view of the economic and political situation in Italy. In Spain, the Communist Party and the Socialist Party agreed in the spring of 1979 to cooperate on the municipal level. At the same time, other social-democratic parties such as the SPD, and the SPOe [Austrian Socialist Party] have been maintaining their negative position in regard to cooperation with the communist parties of their countries.

Ideological Differences Not Eliminated

The policy of unity of action pursued by the Communists is subject to continuous attack and defamation. In order to prevent unity of action, social-reformist ideologists claim that the Communists are incapable of sincere cooperation with other political forces. In a similarly unrealistic fashion, opportunistic politicians call into question the Communists' key principle of the parties' independence and equality in this cooperation; in this connection, they frequently demand that numerically smaller communist parties merge in a coalition of "leftist forces." However, the present class struggles demonstrate that the Communists as the most resolute advocates of working class interests neither lay claim to power over other parties or organizations of the working class nor intend to do away with the independence of the other political forces. It goes without saying that in cooperating with other organizations of the working class, the Communists do not want to give up their own political independence.

A key element in the arsenal of the anti-unity forces in the social-reformist workers' movement is the unprovable claim that for the Communists unity of action is ultimately a tactical maneuver intended to weaken and undermine the social-democratic parties. History and current events prove that the struggle of the communist parties for unity of action of the working class is a strategic task directed toward consolidation of the fighting power of the working class, whereas the attitude toward unity of action adopted by most of the social-democratic leaders is tactically oriented and intended to strengthen the social-reformist positions.

The progress made in regard to the development of unity of action did not by any means eliminate the ideological differences between Marxism-Leninism and Social Reformism. Nevertheless, the communist parties regard as "necessary the dialog and the cooperation between Communists and all of the other democratic and peace-loving forces...and advocate the elimination of the distrust and prejudices that could impede their cooperation."[6] In this respect, they proceed from the assumption that Social Democracy is part of the workers' movement--i.e. the social-reformist, noncommunist trend of the international workers' movement. Essentially, this evaluation is in accord with the statement contained in the Final Act of the Berlin Conference of

Communist and Workers' Parties: "The communist parties do not regard as anticommunists all of those who do not agree with its policies."[7]

No Alternative to Detente

More than ever, the struggles of the working class in the imperialist countries are being influenced by the international situation. The aggravation of the international situation during the transition to the 1980's calls for a closer link between the struggle for the enforcement of the socio-economic demands of the working class and the struggle for the safeguarding and continuation of the policy of detente and it necessitates a greater measure of solidarity in the class struggles. Against this background, some aspects of the cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats will be examined more closely.

1. Of great importance was and is the fact that "in regard to the problems concerning the struggle for detente, the communists and the Social Democrats lately formulated standpoints that are quite close."[8] Evidence of the potentially positive changes in regard to the cooperation in this important field of the class struggle are the Helsinki Disarmament Conference of the Socialist International in April 1978 and the talks held in Moscow in the fall of 1979 between L. I. Brezhnev and the Disarmament Study Group of the SI [Socialist International].

It is against this background that one must view operations such as the international demonstration in Brussels in December 1979, which was initiated by Communists and Social Democrats and which was directed against the NATO armament plans. This combative operation comprised 50,000 participants from all of the European NATO states. Certain realistic groups in the international social-democratic movement advocate continuation of the policy of detente even under the present conditions. K. Sorsa, chairman of the SI Disarmament Study Group, stated in Moscow: "We are at a crossroads. The decision we make in the coming months and years will determine the international climate. Either we will be very successful in the field of disarmament or the coming years will give rise to a new dangerous phase in the arms race. We are in danger of losing all that we achieved in the 10 years of detente." Similarly, the SI conference of party leaders, which was held in Vienna in February, gave expression to the view that there was no reasonable alternative to detente.

However, one must not overlook the fact that even in regard to the key problem of current international politics there is a deep gap between the social-reformist parties' word and deed. As a rule, influential leaders of these parties merely pay lip service to detente and disarmament; for the most part, they have failed to organize concrete measures toward termination of the arms race. This is at variance with the requirements of the present situation.

However, it is obvious that in the social-democratic parties there is considerable potential for insuring the success of the peace policy.

Consequently, the communist parties are making an effort to cooperate with a maximum number of social-democratic workers in a broad front uniting the advocates of peace and thus to strengthen the political counterweight to the most aggressive forces opposed to detente. Even though the inconsistency of the social-democratic policy in regard to peace invites criticism, this does not by any means diminish the Communists' interest in the Social Democrats' views on these problems.

2. The existence and the activities of the international monopolies, above all the acute threat to detente posed by the international concerns of the military-industrial complex, increasingly necessitate the cooperation of the working class and its organizations on both the national and the international level.

Degree of Trade Union Organization in Selected Capitalist Countries (Percentage of Trade Union Members of the Total Number of Workers and Salaried Employees)

Sweden	85	Norway	50
Belgium	70	Great Britain	43
Denmark	70	Netherlands	40
Austria	58	FRG	39
Finland	55	Switzerland	37
Luxemburg	53	Italy	32
Ireland	50	France	23

The communist parties have repeatedly expressed their desire to cooperate with social-democratic parties against the international monopolies. It is not least on account of their activities that numerous strikes were launched in the parent companies of international concerns (e.g. in the Fiat Works in Italy and the Renault Works in France) and that there were instances in which the workers of such enterprises in two or more countries fought against the multinational concerns (e.g. Ford in Belgium and Great Britain, Dunlop-Pirelli in Italy and Great Britain, AKZO in the Netherlands and the FRG, Michelin in Spain and France).[9]

The social-democratic workers, too, are increasingly concerned about the economic and political power of the international monopolies. There is more and more criticism of the fact that the international monopolies increasingly restrict the limits of social-democratic reform policies. Demands are being raised which in the event of implementation could help to curtail the power of these giants. Although these demands do not seriously affect the crucial economic and political power bases of the international monopolies, they are more or less in accord with the objective requirements of the current class struggle. They could prove to be points of departure for the cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats.

Joint Struggle for Common Interests

The experience gained in the historical past and in the last few years shows that the development of unity of action is an extremely complicated process, since in spite of the disagreements and political-ideological conflicts between the revolutionary and social-reformist forces of the workers' movement a modicum of cooperation must be brought about.

More than ever, cooperation between the Communists and the Social Democrats is imperative now; all workers share certain basic interests:

--Safeguarding of peace and of the process of detente; struggle against the arms race.

--Defense and extension of the democratic demands of the working class; blocking of the rightist trend in certain capitalist countries.

--Struggle for social progress.

Past and present experience demonstrates that on the one hand unity of action of Communists and Social Democrats can significantly augment the political importance of the working class in the class struggles; on the other hand, the cooperation is characterized by the fact that each of the participating parties tries to extend its political influence on the working class. Whereas in the struggle for the social and democratic interests of the workers they can be partners and can cooperate in the struggle for the preservation of peace, they attempt in the same, joint operations to maximize their political influence on the working class. Moreover, in the joint operations the basic ideological positions of scientific communism and of social reformism are maintained. Thus the Communists and the Social Democrats are /ideological enemies/ [words in slantlines printed in boldface]. Consequently, unity of action represents an interaction of cooperation, ideological antagonism, and a struggle for increased political influence. It is a dynamic process which comprises the necessity of political alliances, while maintaining antagonistic ideological positions.

The attitude of the revolutionary parties of the working class vis-a-vis the nonrevolutionary segments of the workers' movement is characterized on the one hand by the emphasis placed on common interests and on the other hand by the objective criticism and ideological critique of social-reformist ideas and noncommunist standpoints and of the Social Democrats' anticommunism, which seriously interferes with unity of action.

The communist parties proceed from the assumption that the struggle against imperialism calls for the mobilization of /all/ [word in slantlines printed in boldface] of the forces of the working class. They organize their activities so as to give an advantage to those forces among the workers' social-reformist groups, which are oriented toward cooperation with the Communists or could be won over to such cooperation. The aggressive exposition of the

Communists' objectives can help gradually to diminish anticommunist prejudices. It is especially through concerted action that differences of opinion and disagreements can gradually be reduced. Consequently, the communist organizations combine the mass movements against the united forces of the monopolies and the imperialist state with the systematic propagation of their policy and with discussions about the objective and methods of the joint struggle of the working class.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 11. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From the Report of the Politburo to the 11th Session of the SED Central Committee], Berlin, 1979, p 12.

2. "Bericht des Parteivorstandes an den Mannheimer Parteitag. Berichterstatter: Herbert Mies. Protokoll des Mannheimer Parteitages der Deutschen Kommunistischen Partei" [Report of the Party Executive Board to the Mannheim Party Congress. Speaker: Herbert Mies. Minutes of the Mannheim Congress of the German Communist Party], 1978, pp 45-46.

3. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" [The Next Tasks of the Party in the Further Implementation of the Resolutions of the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin, 1980, pp 20-21.

4. For greater detail, see: "Staatsmonopolistischer Kapitalismus und Opportunismus" [State-Monopolistic Capitalism and Opportunism], Berlin, 1979.

5. B. N. Ponomarjow, "Before the Historical Choice," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 18/19 December 1976.

6. "Konferenz der kommunistischen und Arbeiterparteien Europas--Dokumente und Reden" [Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe--Documents and Speeches], Berlin, 1976, p 25.

7. Ibid., pp 25-26.

8. B. N. Ponomarjow, "For Cooperation in the Struggle Against the Arms Race; For Disarmament," HORIZONT, No 20, 1978, p 7.

9. See M. Anders, H. Schwenk, H. Veith, L. Winter, "Internationalization of State-Monopolistic Capitalism and the Trade Union Struggle," IPW-BERICHTE, No 1, 1980.

Focus on European Workers

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 13 No 18, 1980 signed to press 28 Apr 80 pp 10-11

[Article by Prof Dr Harald Neubert: "Joint Goals--Joint Action." For a translation of the Hermann Axen article cited in footnote 3 see JPRS 70417, 5 Jan 78 No 1492 of this series pp 14-27]

> [Text] In publishing the following article, HORIZONT is continuing a series which is to provide additional material, especially for the propagandists and participants in the party study-year seminars "For the Study of Basic Problems of the Global Revolutionary Process" (3rd study year). The following article is to aid the seminar on Topic 8: "National and International Elements in the Struggle of the Workers' Movement in the Capitalist Countries. The Need for Further Intensification of the International Unity of Action of the Working Class."

The working class and all progressive forces in the world are presently confronted with a spectrum of diverse problems, solution of which is urgent and apt significantly to influence the development of mankind. The primary tasks in this respect are the following: preservation of world peace; continuation of the policy of detente; termination of the arms race, and implementation of disarmament measures. A further objective is to attain national independence in the last regions still subject to colonial and racist domination, and in the nationally liberated states, to win social liberation and economic independence of imperialism. In the countries subjugated by capitalism, it is necessary to defend and improve the working and living conditions of the workers, to fight against intensified exploitation and the shifting of crisis-related burdens to the workers, and to struggle for social progress and for antimonopolistic changes, democracy and socialism.

"In this period in particular," stated Erich Honecker, "it is evident to everyone that in the 1980's decisions will be made that are of great moment for the future of mankind. Recent decisions have shown that the struggle for peace and socialism, for the social and national liberation of the nations can be very stormy. From time to time, this struggle markedly intensifies. All this reaffirms our repeated observation to the effect that abrupt changes in the international situation are possible, that the inclination for adventurism is a constituent element of imperialism."[1] The tasks deriving from the present situation--the enumeration of which is by no means complete--are to show the diversity and complexity of the areas of conflict awaiting the working class and all progressive, democratic forces. Prior to any analysis and substantiation of some of these obligations, it seems advisable to point out some general aspects of the struggle.

Firstly: The solution of these problems is closely bound up with the accomplishment of the historic mission of the working class, which is called upon to overcome capitalism and to establish the socialist, communist society. Only the victory of socialism can ultimately and irrevocably eliminate the causes underlying these tasks. This means that the working class embodies that historical force which is called upon to lead the struggle. This is all the more true in the light of the indisputable fact that it is the working class--in contrast to all other classes and strata--which bears most of the responsibility and burden in regard to the solution of the above-mentioned problems.

Secondly: Directly or indirectly, the solution of the aforementioned problems has an anti-imperialist aspect, which the participants may or may not be aware of. Generally speaking, many of these tasks cannot be accomplished until the imperialist social system is defeated. It is only at that point that capitalist exploitation and the threat of war will be eliminated. Other goals, which are attainable even under the conditions of peaceful coexistence with imperialist states and which do not necessarily require the defeat of capitalism--e.g. improvement of the working and living conditions of the workers, prevention of thermonuclear war, implementation of disarmament measures--are continuously opposed by reactionary imperialist forces. Consequently, they can be attained only if the influence of these forces is checked.

Thirdly: Even though it leads the struggle and is greatly interested in attaining the aforementioned objectives, the working class does not feel it is the only force responsible for this struggle. Aside from the working class, there are many other social and political forces that are likewise interested in solving a great many of these problems, for they directly affect their vital interests as well. This is the reason why the parties of the working class try to establish broad action alliances. The objective is to mobilize a broad front, in order to solve the crucial problems of mankind and above all, to preserve peace and prevent the outbreak of a new world war. Thus broad alliances are in fact effective.

Fourthly: In theory and practice, the diverse requirements in the struggle for peace, democracy, national and social liberation, social progress and socialism demonstrate the close dialectical interaction between the national and the international elements. More then ever, this interaction presently derives from the fact that a) many of the aforementioned problems have a national as well as an international aspect; b) international factors affect more strongly than ever the solution of problems of a national character; c) increasingly, the problems arising are international in scope and solvable only within an international framework.

Interaction of National and International Elements

The interaction of national and international elements is a key problem--in regard to both theory and practice--of the political struggle, especially

the struggle of the working class for the implementation of its historic mission.

The significance of the national factor in the struggle of the working class and of all progressive forces derives from the fact that the economic, governmental and political spheres develop first within a national framework or on a national scale. The working class, too, forms parties and trade unions. It wages its struggle in a national framework. Many principles in the history of mankind won recognition on the national level, even though they were universally valid. Proletarian revolutions and socialist construction are primarily revolutionary goals, the attainment of which is prepared within a national framework.

Thus the struggle and the long-term prospects of the working class of each country are influenced by many factors, which in their entirety constitute the national element:

--The concrete, historically created economic, social and political structures and conditions, i.e. the class conditions of a country, its level of development and its achievement in the history of mankind and in the global revolutionary process;

--its material and intellectual culture and specific intellectual traditions;

--the place and the role of a country in the community of nations and in the international class struggle;

--the interaction and the struggle of the political and social forces of a country;

--the driving forces--operative within the national framework--underlying the revolutionary process;

--the tasks, strategy and national responsibility of the workers' movement, etc.

Just as the general exists only in the concrete, the general patterns and common interests of the nations are expressed in the national element. Generally speaking, it would therefore be wrong to reduce the national element to characteristics contrasting with the international element, the common features of the international working class.

The national element is permeated with the international element. Thus the revolutionary working class is bound to oppose national nihilism and to take a positive attitude toward the national element. The working class adopts the national element in the form of progressive traditions and achievements and of national culture; it defends and develops this national element and regards it as an important factor in regard to its own strength

and struggle. The working class itself, which by nature is international, is at the same time part of the national element. The working class defends the national interests, which the imperialist bourgeoisie is always ready to betray. To the working class, patriotism and proletarian internationalism--like the national and the international elements--are an integral whole.

The Seventh Congress of the Communist International paid a great deal of attention to the concrete factors in the struggle waged by the Communists and to the necessity continuously to take into account the national element. In regard to these problems, Georgi Dimitroff--criticizing symptoms of sectarianism--stated: "We are opposed to any schematism. At any time and place, we want to take into consideration the concrete conditions rather than proceed according to routine. We will not forget that under different conditions, the Communists cannot take identical positions."[2]

This basic attitude was affirmed by the parties participating in the international conference of communist and workers' parties, which was held in Moscow in 1969. They criticized national narrowness and the negation or underestimation of national interests. "As parties of the working class and of all workers, the communist parties are at the same time the standard-bearers of the true national interests."

This is not to say that the Communists can accept an overestimation of the national factor, that they can put up with nationalism or great-power chauvinism. These phenomena are quite harmful. The best example in this regard is the course followed by the Beijing leadership, which presently is oriented toward an offensive alliance with the most reactionary forces of world imperialism. Thus the struggle for peace and social progress necessitates fundamental opposition against nationalism and great-power chauvinism.

The Strength of the Revolutionary Workers' Movement

It was Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels who demonstrated the international character of the working class and of its historic mission. The working and living conditions of the proletariat and the patterns of capitalist production and exploitation are identical in all capitalist countries; Capital itself is an international force. Any attempt by the working class to accomplish its historic mission without taking into consideration the international conditions, interrelations and factors would constitute provincialism bound to end in defeat. Today any nationally organized revolutionary force is confronted--more so than ever before--with the forces of the international monopoly capital, of the international reactionary powers; consequently, in order to win its struggle, it must take into account the external conditions and the external enemy and must assure itself of international solidarity. The international element, which in the struggle must never be ignored, comprises transcendent elements, the supra-national conditions, limitations and achievements of the historical

development and of the global revolutionary process in particular. In its entirety, it comprises

--the concrete international situation, i.e. all those international conditions and factors which affect the processes of social and national development and the revolutionary struggles and which significantly influence--i.e. further, accelerate, impede or prevent--their rate and success;

--the relations among the states and nations and the international distribution of forces between world socialism and world imperialism;

--all those effects and consequences that entail national developments and changes in regard to the international class struggle and the international distribution of forces;

--all the universal achievements produced in the history of mankind; all the common theoretical and practical experience, traditions and accomplishments produced by the revolutionary movements and by socialism;

--the total interests of the international workers' movement, the internationalist responsibility and the international obligations of the working class of each country.

Today the growing importance of the international factor derives from the systematic processes of internationalization, which affect the economic and political spheres, the intellectual-cultural life and the class conflicts.

Abstract discussions about the primacy of the national or the international element are pointless. Thus Hermann Axen stated: "Priority must be given to the class interests of the working class, which always comprise national as well as international aspects. The correct appraisal of all national and international factors of the struggle under the given concrete conditions from the point of view of the total interests of the working class, of the total interests of Socialism and Communism--this is the primary criterion concerning loyalty to proletarian internationalism and its successful implementation."[3]

Against Counterrevolutionary Challenges

At present, the most urgent task is to preserve world peace, to prevent thermonuclear war. There is no doubt that the struggle for world peace, detente, arms limitation and disarmament is a task which is characterized by an inherent international dimension and which thus necessitates the mobilization of a broad international front.

The changeover from cold war to international detente, which was initiated at the beginning of the 1970's, was due exclusively to the concerted action of diverse social and political forces in the international arena. At

present, international unity of action for peace, detente and disarmament is no less important, for influential forces of imperialism, above all in the United States and in other NATO countries, have launched a counter-attack on detente, on peace and on the rights of the nations; they do their utmost to replace the achievements made through detente by cold-war practices. It is necessary to preserve the results achieved in the joint struggle and to open up through unity of action the road toward new advances in the field of international detente.

Only through a coordinated struggle of all peace-loving forces will it be possible to prevent the implementation of NATO's long-range armament program and of the program concerning stationing of new American thermonuclear medium-range rockets in Central Europe and to avert the threat to world peace.

Especially dangerous is the attempt of U.S. imperialism to make the entire nonsocialist world its sphere of influence and to usurp in this sphere the role of world guardian so as to exercise imperialist control over crucial raw material and energy supply centers such as the Near and Middle East and to prevent revolutionary changes. It is the peak of hypocrisy to portray the revolutionary events in Afghanistan and the international solidarity shown to Afghanistan as a "threat to American security" and at the same time to deny the Soviet Union any security interests at its borders. A well-known American politician stated that Carter acted as though Afghanistan was a country adjoining the United States, not the Soviet Union. All in all: The revolutionary forces in the nonsocialist world are directly confronted with a counterrevolutionary challenge by the United States and other NATO countries, which challenge they must counter through concerted action, in close collaboration with the forces of real socialism.

Unity of Action More Urgent Than Ever

The workers' movement of the capitalist countries, above all the European countries is confronted with another urgent international task. The imperialist, state-monopolistic integration is expanding and the importance and influence of the multinational concerns are growing. There is taking place a political, economic and social intensification of internationalization, which leads to direct repercussions on the situation, fighting conditions and tasks of the working class under capitalism. In many respects, the state-monopolistic integration and the multinational concerns represent a challenge to the workers' movement. Due to the internationalization of capital-related conditions, of the capital utilization process and of the exploitation of the workers, the defense and improvement of the workers' living and working conditions frequently can be effected only through a struggle waged across national borders. In order to increase their profits and to intensify the exploitation of the workers, the multinational concerns skillfully exploit all the differences in the workers' production and wage rate level, in their standard of living and in the conditions concerning raw material supplies so as to transfer--at the expense of the workers--

capital and production facilities from one country to another.

The national interests of the respective countries and the social interests of the workers are thus brutally disregarded. Motivated by their profit interests, the concerns produce wherever labor is the cheapest, production costs the lowest, productivity the highest, social contributions and the unions' fighting strength the lowest. The consequences are increasing mass unemployment, structural crises, exodus of labor, decay of former industrial facilities, inflation and price rises. In the event of strikes, the international concerns are able by means of production shifts to blackmail the working class in one country, while corrupting that of another.

The state-monopolistic integration has a deeply political aspect as well. The crisis-prone capitalist system of domination is to be internationally secured; it is to be stabilized by international power mechanisms.

Thus, imperialist politicians in the United States and in the FRG consider the potential sharing of governmental responsibility by the Communists in France and Italy a direct threat, an impairment of their own security interests. In the same vein, NATO with all of its military capacity is programed to quell any revolutionay action. The integration mechanisms and economic dependencies are mobilized immediately against any country, in which democratic, antimonopolistic changes are made or attempted. Against the Portuguese revolution, an economic boycott was launched after 1974, and Italy was threatened with the same measure in the event of Communists joining the Cabinet. Thus the integration moves conceal counterrevolutionary, reactionary intentions of the international monopoly bourgeoisie. To the workers' movement of every capitalist country, these intentions are an international challenge.

For the working class, this means that it can defend and improve its working and living conditions only through concerted action transcending national borders and that it can effect antimonopolistic changes and make headway on the road toward socialism only if it is able to break--or at least check--the power of the international monopoly bourgeoisie. However, all of this can be achieved only through a coordinated struggle, through international unity of action. We must not allow the consolidation of the forces of the international monopoly bourgeoisie to be quicker and more effective than that of the forces of the workers' movement.

The interconnection and interaction between the national and the international elements in the struggle against the arms race and for peace, detente, disarmament, antimonopolistic changes, and the rights and secure living standard of the workers show that the need for an international approach on the part of the working class is not smaller, but greater than ever. In this connection, one must point out the following: The growing importance of proletarian internationalism in the worldwide class struggle is reflected in its enrichment and in the extension of its social basis. Many nonproletarian revolutionary forces are adopting its principles,

regarding them as the foundation of their internationalist activities, of their struggle against imperialism, of their cooperation and friendship with the countries of real socialism. In this connection, it is necessary to point out that the Marxists-Leninists never considered proletarian internationalism to be a principle merely concerning the relations among Communists of various countries. To the communist movement, it was never a means of isolation or demarcation from other revolutionary forces; rather, it has always been used to bring about unity of action and broad alliances and to develop the cooperative relations.

FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" [The Next Tasks of the Party in the Further Implementation of the Resolutions Adopted at the Ninth SED Congress], Berlin, 1980, p 5.

2. Georgi Dimitroff, "The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle for Working Class Unity Against Fascism," in: "VII. Kongress der Kommunistischen Internationale. Referate und Resolutionen" [The Seventh Congress of the Communist International. Reports and Resolutions], Berlin, 1975, p 162.

3. Hermann Axen, "The Great October and Proletarian Internationalism Today," EINHEIT, No 10/11, 1977, p 1152.

8760
CSO: 2300

ARBITRATION COURT FOR FOREIGN TRADE DISPUTES DESCRIBED

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 13 No 17, 1980 signed to press 21 Apr 80 p 24

[Article by Prof Dr Heinz Strohbach, president, Arbitration Court of the GDR Chamber for Foreign Trade: "Helper in Foreign Economic Relation Disputes"]

[Text] In case of disputes between enterprises of CEMA member countries, the arbitration court for the GDR Chamber of Foreign Trade has during its 25 years of existence always considered it its main task, by means of elucidation and application of laws issued for that purpose, to make an effective contribution to the strengthening of comradely cooperation and the realization of mutual responsibility and thereby to the further invigoration of socialist economic integration. In keeping with the foreign trade structure, the approximately 350 cases before this arbitration court are concerned with legal issues of socialist international economic cooperation.

Measured by the number of agreements concluded annually, these are extremely few disputes. But they are there, and they signal difficulties in the realization of one or another foreign trade operation by a GDR enterprise and its foreign partner. Among them are failures to meet delivery deadlines as well as complaints about quality in the broadest sense, for example inadequate packaging and incomplete deliveries. Sometimes quality questions have not been discussed in their entirety by the time the contract is signed. On this point, the agreement then is unspecific. Uniform CEMA standards do not yet exist for all commodities. Many failures to meet delivery deadlines would not occur if the imports necessary for the production of the merchandise always arrived on time. The arbitrators must then investigate whether the delivery dates had been synchronized carefully enough at the time the contract was signed. The following example should make clear the diversity of problems confronting arbitrators in such court cases.

Freely Chosen Arbitration Court

In the following case, 20,000 transferable rubles are at stake. Not altogether a small amount, but more important is the question of principle that underlies the matter and that keeps coming up in other court cases. The court which must decide on the issue is the arbitration court of the GDR Chamber for Foreign Trade. But neither of the contracting and disputing parties is a GDR enterprise! The participants are, rather, a Polish and a Hungarian enterprise which agreed to have their dispute settled before this Berlin Arbitration Court.

Without such an agreement, the Budapest Chamber of Commerce-Arbitration Court would have jurisdiction over the Polish enterprise's suit. This is so because since 1958 it has been a rule among CEMA member countries that in the case of commercial disputes the arbitration court in the respondent's country renders the decision unless the parties have agreed differently. The 20,000 rubles were charges as contract penalty for late delivery of several batches of hydrocylinders for dumping devices. The "General Delivery Terms" for merchandise deliveries among CEMA member countries (GDT/CEMA) provide as penalty for exceeding delivery deadlines contract fines, calculates according to the value of the merchandise, for each day of delay (for the first 30 days, 0.05 percent daily, for the next 30 days, 0.08 percent daily, thereafter 0.12 percent), together a maximum of 8 percent of the merchandise's value.

The fact that the delivery deadlines had been exceeded was not in question. But it turned out that the extent was smaller. In the case of railroad shipment delivery, the relevant time is the crossing of the receiving country's border and not the arrival of the merchandise in the purchaser's enterprise. In the case of transit shipment, this surely amounts to several days! On the basis of the dispatch stamp on the railroad bill of loading, the delay to be charged to the deliverer could be readily determined.

But the three arbitrators--each party nominates one from the arbitration court's list of arbitrators, and these two on their part choose a third one from the same list as chairman--still had to solve the question of principle underlying the now already reduced claim. That is, the parties had reduced the grace period (for which period the delivery deadline can be exceeded without contract penalty assessment), from the 30 days legally admissible in the contractual relations of several countries, to 7 days: moreover, they agreed on considerably higher penalty-terms then provided for in the GDT/CEMA, and instead of 8 percent of merchandise value as legally provided maximum for total contract penalty, 20 percent had been decided on. Was this permissible?

Unlimitedly High Contract Penalties?

In the case of exceptional circumstances involving the merchandise or delivery, GDT/CEMA allows the contracting parties to reach agreements which

deviate from individual GDT legal prescriptions. But were such exceptional circumstances present in the case of the hydrolic cylinders? The purchaser argued that no regular merchandise delivery contract was involved but rather a cooperation contract which was the basis for long-term cooperation. He drew attention to the antecedents of the contract conclusion, and referred to several points of the contract's content. For example, the use the cylinders were intended for was carefully stated. It is a matter of special manufacture for the purchaser. It is explicitly specified that deliveries are to be complete, uninterrupted, and in equal parts so as to enable the purchaser to have a rhythmic production schedule. After all, the supplier is the only producer of such cylinders and the end-product, the dumping device, is exported almost exclusively to Hungary. The production of the cylinders was carried out according to the patterns, and with the materials, of the purchaser. Late deliveries cause extreme economic damage, so that the exceptional responsibility arrangement, which deviates from the GDT/CEMA rules, is justified.

The supplier defended himself with the argument that specilization and cooperation contracts are always designated as exceptional. What is involved here is a normal purchase-sale-contract. Subsequent contracts between the same parties and involving the same merchandise contain no responsibility arrangements deviating from the GDT/CEMA.

Further Development of the Law

The three arbitrators dealt in detail with the legal-political goal of the GDT/CEMA and the task of the complex program of socialist economic integration to further improve its legal foundation. What matters there is essentially the strict implementation of legal regulations decided on mutually by all CEMA members. Deviations are to be allowed only in an exceptional case. They must be objectively justified and mutually agreed upon by the contracting parties. In the course of the investigation of all circumstances, the arbitrators came to the conclusion that in reaching their agreement, the parties started from the assumption that their relationship was an exceptional case and that a detailed examination of merchandise, delivery, and intended use also objectively substantiates that it is an exceptional case. The arbitrators therefore accepted the agreed upon shortening of the grace period and the increase in the daily contractual penalty percentage rate. They considered this as adequate but deemed the 150 percent pile-up of the total amount of contract penalties as unreasonably high and actually unjustified, particularly since such high contract penalties (20 percent of merchandise value) are not even provided for in purely specilization and cooperation contracts. With this decision and its detailed substantiation, with the entire trial and the many discussions with representatives of both contracting parties, the arbitration court exerted active influence on future orderly contract formation.

But contract disputes between GDR enterprises and firms of the nonsocialist trading area are also arbitrated if the contracting parties have agreed on

the jurisdiction of the Berlin arbitration court. For such cases, the GDR Chamber of Foreign Trade has reached arbitration court agreements with a number of similar institutions with the purpose of recommending the use of arbitration courts to enterprises doing business with the GDR as a suitable dispute-solving institution, and among the many institutions of this kind in the world (in cases of claims against GDR enterprises) the arbitration court of the GDR Chamber for Foreign Trade. There are agreements of this kind with appropriate organization in India, Italy, Japan and Austria. They are standing the test and are helping the arbitration count to further in its own way international commercial cooperation.

9011
CSO: 2300

DANES PROPOSE EXCHANGE OF GDR SPY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

[LD141225 Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 10 Jul 80 p 4]

[Toft report: "Wants To Exchange Spy From the East for Three Political Prisoners"]

[Text] The East German Joerg Meyer, who was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment for espionage against Denmark, may perhaps see his home country earlier than expected.

For the Danish section of the International Sakharov Committee has suggested in a letter to Foreign Minister Kjeld Olesen that Joerg Meyer be exchanged for three female political prisoners in East Germany. Of the three women the Sakharov committee is considering two are in prison for escape attempts to the West, while the third, 33-year-old Helga Neuhaeser, is imprisoned for espionage.

Objvind Fjeldsted Andresen from the committee's Danish section announced that it is in the light of the UN womens' conference to be held in Copenhagen that three female political prisoners have been singled out.

The Foreign Ministry has as yet no comment to make on the proposed exchange. The matter must first be discussed at ministerial level between Justice Minister Henning Rasmussen and Foreign Minister Kjeld Olesen.

The Sakharov committee has initiated political prisoner exchanges in the past. In 1976 between the Russian Bukovskiy and the Chilean Corvalan and the following year several East Germans were released for a single Chilean.

Objvind Fjeldsted does not expect the Danish authorities to respond quickly.

"Denmark has never before been involved in a political exchange, and it is obvious that the justice and foreign ministries must first look into the case's many legal aspects in detail, but I expect our request to be given serious consideration. I think that it is important to take humanitarian initiatives seriously at a time when an icy political wind is blowing between East and West," Fjeldsted said.

The Sakharov committee never attempts to exchange prisoners who have been involved in acts of violence. It only tries to help political prisoners.

Many governments around the world are skeptical toward these exchanges. Their view is that totalitarian states need only arrest innocent people and then use them in exchanges instead of political opponents, for example, but according to Fjeldsted this has not happened yet.

CSO: 3106

BRIEFS

COLLISION CLAIMS 19 VICTIMS--In the evening on 30 June, a diesel locomotive traveling at high speed collided with a local service bus at the Darnai Square intersection, which is controlled by traffic lights, in Siofok. The locomotive carried part of the bus with it for several hundred meters. Nineteen people were killed and 12 seriously injured in the collision. The fatalities include 2 Lebanese and a Czechoslovak citizen. [AU021330 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Jul 80 p 9]

MEXICAN DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE--The delegation of the Party of the Mexican People led by Secretary General Alejandro Rascon Mercade which had visited our country at the invitation of the PPF National Council departed Budapest on Friday (27 June). The delegation was received by Istvan Sarlos, member of the MSZMP Politburo and Secretary General of the PPF National Council. The delegation had talks with Robert Garai, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, and leaders of the National Trade Union Council and the National Producer Cooperative Council. They met with National Assembly deputies at the Budapest PPF Committee and acquainted themselves with the political, economic and cultural life of Fejer County during a tour of the country. [Text] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jun 80 p 5]

CONSERVATION WORKPLAN WITH MONGOLIA--The Mongolian delegation led by Deputy Minister of Irrigation Erindongiyn Damba that has had talks on the development of relations with regard to water conservation between the two countries departed on 29 June. "On the basis of the talks, the heads of the delegations signed a 1981-85 workplan on Hungarian-Mongolian technical-scientific cooperation in water conservation. In the program, large scope was devoted to an exchange of experiences of water conservation experts. The Hungarian side will enable Mongolian water conservation experts to study drip feed irrigation and the automation of irrigation systems in our country. Also, Hungarian water conservation specialists will pass on their experiences in establishing, operating and repairing water-saving thermal and cold-water swimming pools and drinking water wells." [AU021330 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 1 Jul 80 p 4]

NEW CHECKPOINT TO ROMANIA--A new border station was commissioned yesterday (1 July) at the Hungarian-Romanian border in Csengersima, on the No 46 Main Highway. The crossing point, which is in operation day and night, can only be used for the purposes of passenger traffic. [Text] [AU021330 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Jul 80 p 8]

VIETNAMESE DELEGATION'S ARRIVAL--A Vietnamese labor affairs delegation led by Minister Nguyen Tho Chan has arrived in Budapest for an official visit to discuss labor issues of mutual interests. [Text] [AU021330 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Jul 80 p 8]

CSO: 2500

UNIVERSAL MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS FOR PEOPLE 40 AND OVER INITIATED

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 12, 10 May 80 pp 126-127

[Text] Decree of the Minister of Health and Social Welfare Dated 30 April 1980

Concerning Universal Medical Examinations of Various Groups within the populace.

On the basis of article 16 paragraph 4 and article 17 paragraph 1 of a law dated 28 October 1948 concerning social institutions of health service and planned management in health service (DZIENNIK USTAW 1948, No 55, item 434; 1950, No 36, item 327; 1951, No 1, item 2; 1955, No 11, item 67) the following is ordained:

Section 1. (1) Universal medical examinations of the population over 40 years of age, heretofore known as "examinations" are initiated.

(2) The purpose of examinations is to obtain an evaluation of the state of the health of particular persons and to establish a program of active preventive, therapeutic and rehabilitative care for them, as well as to determine the health needs of the persons examined and the directions for further activity in conjunction with serving these needs.

Section 2. (1) Examinations of persons who complete their fortieth year in a given calendar year are initiated beginning in 1981. In the years which follow, successive groups of the populace are included in the examinations, namely: persons 45 years of age--beginning from 1983, persons 50 years of age--beginning from 1985.

(2) Repeated examinations of the persons referred to in paragraph 1 are conducted every 5 years, if during earlier examinations the need for involving these persons in active preventive, therapeutic or rehabilitative care was not ascertained.

(3) Persons who will report for these examinations at the suggestion of their own health service facility or upon their own initiative are included in the examinations.

Section 3. The examinations include:

1) basic diagnostic studies,

2) subjective studies (an interview),

3) general medical studies,

4) gynecological studies of women,

5) in the event that it is necessary--other auxiliary and specialized studies executed at the order of the doctor conducting the examinations.

Section 4. (1) The examinations are conducted by the organizational units of the social institutions of the health service, the tasks of which include ensuring basic health care. In particular the examinations are conducted by regional clinics and by health centers appropriate from the point of view of the place of residence of the persons under examination.

(2) The examinations of persons covered by the care of factory clinics (and inter-factory clinics) are conducted by these clinics, and of persons covered by the care of the railroad health service, by the appropriate division of this service.

(3) If the need arises to conduct auxiliary or specialized studies which the doctor performing the examinations cannot execute in his own area, on the basis of recommendation of this doctor, such studies are performed by the appropriate specializing department of the health service.

Section 5. (1) Examinations are organized in a given preventive-therapeutic district by Health Care Teams (ZOZ).

(2) Examinations of persons covered by the care of factory clinics (and inter-factory clinics) are organized by these clinics by agreement with the head of the factory.

Section 6. (1) Factory clinics (and inter-factory clinics) and departments of the railroad health service prepare lists of persons who are to be examined in a given calendar year and present these lists--by 1 February of each year--to the proper Health Care Teams from the point of view of the place of residence of these persons.

(2) Health Care Teams, on the basis of the documents being in the possession of local officials of the state administration at the basal level prepare the lists of persons who are to be examined in a given calendar year. This list does not include those persons whose examinations are conducted by factory clinics (and inter-factory clinics) or divisions of the railroad health service.

(3) Health Care Teams present the list referred to in paragraph 2 to the appropriate regional clinics and health centers by 1 March of each year.

Section 7. (1) The time-period suitable for conducting the examinations of the aforementioned persons is set up by the clinics, health centers and divisions of the railroad health service, in accordance with the plan of examinations set up for particular preventive-therapeutic districts and approved by the local official of the state administration at the voivodship level.

(2) Persons to be examined receive written notification indicating the proposed date of examinations and including appropriate information and instructions. At the request of an interested party, the examination may be conducted on another day agreed upon by the head of the clinic or health service.

Section 8. The examinations are conducted during hours that are most convenient for the local population. The examinations of workers are conducted during hours enabling them to report for the examination outside of work hours.

Section 9. In the event that, as a result of the examination, the need is ascertained for involving the given person in active care, a program of preventive-therapeutic activity is prescribed for him. The interested party is expected to familiarize himself with this program.

Section 10. The results of the examination should be entered into the medical record kept by the appropriate clinic (health center) or division of the railroad health service.

(2) A note is made on the insurance identity card concerning the appearance of the given person for the examination.

Section 11. The principles and procedure of conducting the examinations of persons covered by the care of health services of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense are defined in separate regulations.

Section 12. The decree does not violate regulations concerning medical examinations of workers.

Section 13. The decree comes into force after a lapse of 14 days from its announcement.

The Minister of Health and Social Welfare: M. Sliwinski

8536
CSO: 2600

BRIEFS

TUNISIAN ENVOY PRESENTS CREDENTIALS--PAP--Council of State Chairman Henryk Jablonski on 26 June received for an audience at Belweder Castle Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Tunisia, who presented his credentials. Present were Council of State secretary Edward Duda and Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Eugeniusz Kulaga. Following the credentials presentation, Ambassador Zine El Abidine Ben Ali was received by the Council of State chairman for a private audience. [AU011639 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Jun 80 p 1 AU]

CSO: 2600

ROMANIAN-CYPRIOT ECONOMIC COMMISSION MEETS IN BUCHAREST

Proceedings Begin

AU242020 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1745 GMT 24 Jun 80

[Excerpt] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 24/6/1980--On June 24 proceedings began in Bucharest of the second session of the Romanian-Cypriot Intergovernmental Commission of Economic Collaboration and Industrial and Technological Cooperation. The Romanian delegation is headed by Emil Fleseriu, director of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, and the Cypriot one by Iacovos Aristidou, director general of the Planning Bureau of the Republic of Cyprus. During the present session the sides looked into the results of the collaboration between the two countries, into possibilities of expanding the cooperation in domains of mutual interest, as well as into ways of developing the trade exchanges.

Economic Protocol Signed

AU272144 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1732 GMT 27 Jun 80

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/6/1980--The proceedings of the second session of the Romanian-Cypriot Intergovernmental Commission of Economic Collaboration and of Industrial and Technical Cooperation, concluded in Bucharest on June 27. In the spirit of the understandings and decisions reached during the meetings and talks between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Spyros Kyprianou, the session analysed the stage of the carrying out of the actions of economic and technical-scientific cooperation and of the commercial exchanges between the two countries. At the conclusion of the proceedings, the protocol of the session was signed that stipulates fresh measures for the development and diversification of the Romanian-Cypriot economic, commercial and cooperative relations.

CSO: 2020

SPANISH FOREIGN MINISTER OREJA INTERVIEW REPORTED

AU032045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1738 GMT 3 Jul 80

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3/7/1980--The interview with Romania's president I believe to have been particularly positive and of great interest. And this is so because it was more than just a protocol interview: We have discussed together in depth themes concerning the relations between the two countries and at the same time we have looked into the international situation--told to LUMEA review (July 3) Macelino Oreja Aguirre, Spanish minister of foreign affairs, who visited Romania over June 27-28. There is a coincidence of Romanian and Spanish views on a series of international problems. One question that made the object of wide exchanges of opinions--both during the talks I had with the Romanian minister of foreign affairs and during the meeting with President Nicolae Ceausescu--and that gave me a chance to realize the existence of a wide coincidence of views, is the Middle East issue. At the same time I had an exchange of views on varied themes, referring for instance to the developments in Iran, the questions regarding Afghanistan, the situation in Africa and Latin America, and of course the detente in Europe in the context of the coming Madrid reunion for security and cooperation.

Referring to the evolution of the Romanian-Spanish relations the guest said: Particularly after the official visit President Nicolae Ceausescu paid to Madrid last year, our relations have been powerfully stimulated, a wide perspective being opened to them with the concluded agreements, especially with those in the economic, trade, industrial fields as also wi those in the cultural one--yet, now it is necessary, and we agreed on hat, for us to give a richer substance to our agreements, to give a stronger impetus to our trade and economic relations.

Stressing the international policy options of his country the Spanish minister added: Romania and Spain believe it to be their duty to contribute to the achievement of detente at a time of international tension. Both Romania and Spain wish to come to the reunion with this "spirit of detente" and therefore have agreed to meet monthly until the opening of the conference, in order to be able to exchange opinions on the ways to make the coming Madrid reunion conclude in positive results.

CSO: 2020

MEMBERS OF HIGHER COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION, INSTRUCTION

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 40, 22 May 80 pp 3-8

/Presidential Decree No 107 on the Composition of the Higher Council for Education and Instruction and the Leadership Committee of the Council and the Executive Bureau/

/Text/ The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Single article. The composition of the Higher Council for Education and Instruction, for the leadership committee of the council and the Executive Bureau, as provided in the appendix which is an integral part of this decree, is approved. Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Bucharest, 9 May 1980.

Appendix:

Composition of the Higher Council for Education and Instruction and the Leadership Committee of the Council and the Executive Bureau

1. Higher Council for Education and Instruction

President	Stefan Voitec
First vice president	Aneta Spornic
Vice presidents	Suzana Gadea, president of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education
	Gheorghe Mihoc, president of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
	Leonte Rautu, president of the leadership council, rector of the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy
	Ioan Ursu, first vice president of the National Council for Science and Technology

Members

Representatives of Central Institutes

Iuliana Bucur	State secretary at the Ministry of Light Industry
Aurelian Bondrea	Director of the Directorate for Personnel and Instruction in the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Ion Ceausescu	Deputy minister of agriculture and food industry
Ilie Cisu	Deputy minister of labor
Stefan Dima	Deputy minister of industrial construction
Gheorghe Fulea	Deputy minister of mines, petroleum and geology
Iuliu Furo	State secretary at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Mihnea Gheorghiu	President of the Academy of Social and Political Sciences
Nicolae Giosan	President of the Academy of Agriculture and Silvic Sciences
Marin Iliescu	Director of the Directorate for Social Sciences, Educational and SportsActivity in the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Rada Mocanu	Deputy minister of education and instruction
Constantin Oprita	Director of the Directorate for Personnel at the Ministry of National Defense
Lidia Oradean	State secretary at the Ministry of Health
Constantin Petre	Deputy minister of education and instruction
Gheorghe Petrescu	Minister state secretary at the Ministry of Machine Construction Industry
Marin Radoi	Deputy minister of education and instruction
Ion Rizescu	Director of the Directorate for Organization and Control at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Justin Rogoz	Deputy minister of chemical industry
Ileana Stanescu	Deputy director of the Directorate for Higher Education and Scientific Research at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Ion Teoreanu	Vice president of the National Council for Science and Technology
Ion Tulpan	First vice president of the State Planning Committee
Iosif Tripsa	State secretary at the Ministry of Education and Instruction

Party Activists

Mircea Angelescu	First secretary of the Bucharest University Center Party Committee
Doina Dragusin	Secretary of the Mures County Party Committee
Alecu Floares	Secretary of the Iasi County Party Committee
Marin Iordache	Secretary of the Timis County Party Committee
Dumitru Necsoiu	Secretary of the Bucharest Municipal Party Committee
Aurel Negucioiu	Secretary of the Cluj County Party Committee
Stan Soare	Deputy head of the RCP Central Committee Propaganda Section
Elisabeta Traistaru	Secretary of the Dolj County Party Committee

Representatives of Mass and Public Organizations

Mihai Hirjau	President of the National Council of the Pioneer Organization
Petre Brancusi	President of the Composers' Union, rector of the Ciprian Porumbescu Conservatory in Bucharest
Elena Ene	President of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions in the Educational, Science and Culture Institutes
Ladislau Lorincz	Vice president of the Hungarian Nationality Workers' Union
Caterina Benedic	UTC Central Committee secretary, president of the Pupils' Council
Eugenia Mandita	President of the Bucharest Municipal Womens' Committee
Lia Manoliu	Vice president of the National Council for Physical Education and Sports
Viorel Marginean	Painter, vice president of the Union of Plastic Artists
Adalbert Millitz	Secretary of the German Nationality Workers' Council
Marin Preda	Writer, vice president of the Union of Writers
Tudor Mohora	President of the Council of the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania, UTC Central Committee secretary

Teaching Cadres in Higher Education and Scientific Research

Cabiria Andrian	Director of the Bucharest Central Mathematics Institute
Ion Anghel	Prorector of the University of Bucharest
Ioan Anton	Vice president of the Academy, rector of the Timisoara Polytechnical Institute
Constantin Arseni	University professor at the Bucharest Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy
Maria Arsenie	University lecturer at the Constanta Higher Educational Institute
Costica Barbulescu	University professor at the Bucharest Agronomic Institute
Caneluta Beldie	Prorector, Iasi Polytechnical Institute
Nicu Boboc	University professor, University of Bucharest
Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga	Director, George Calinescu Literary History Institute
Zoia Ceausescu	Head scientific researcher, head of a section at the Bucharest INCREST
Felicia Cornea	University professor, Bucharest Polytechnical Institute
George Ciucu	Rector, University of Bucharest
Dumitru Valeriu Cristescu	Director general of the Central Institute for Research, Design and Directions in Construction
Ion Ascaniu Crisan	Director general of the Central Institute for Machine Construction
Ion Crudu	Rector, University of Galati
Mihai Draganescu	Director general, Central Institute for Management and Computers
Iancu Dragan	Director general of the Central Institute for Metallurgical Research

Vasile Dragut	Rector of the N. Grigorescu Plastic Arts Institute of Bucharest
Florea Dudita	Rector, University of Brasov
Corneliu Dumitrescu	Dean of the Ion Mincu Architecture Institute-Bucharest
Dumitru Fodor	Rector, Petrosani Mining Institute
Francisc Fodor	Dean, Tirgu Mures Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy
Mihai Gafitanu	Rector, Iasi Polytechnical Institute
Steluta Teodorescu	Prorector, Al. I. Cuza University of Iasi
Leonida Gherasim	Rector, Bucharest Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy
Dan Ghiocel	Rector, Bucharest Construction Institute
Sanda Ghimpu	Professor, Universitry of Bucharest
Marin Ivascu	Director general, Central Physics Institute
Iosif Kovacs	Prorector, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
Diamanta Laudoniu	Director at the Enterprise for Research and Production of Semiconducting Materials
Calin Mihaileanu	Director general of the Central Institute for Energy Research
Ecaterina Nenitescu-Cioranescu	Consulting professor at the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute
Iulia Petrescu	Deputy director of the Bucharest Textile Research Institute
Constantin Plavitiu	Dean, University of Bucharest
Teodor Pop	Rector, Oradea Higher Educational Institute
Constantin Popa	Rector, University of Timisoara
Vasile Popa	Rector, Baia Mare Higher Educational Institute
Gheorghe Potincu	Rector, Pitesti Higher Educational Institute
Ioan Puia	Rector, Dr Petru Groza Agronomic Institute of Cluj-Napoca
Silviu Puscasu	Professor, University of Craiova
Dumitru Sandulescu	Prorector, Ploiesti Institute for Petroleum and Gases
Cristofor Simionescu	Professor, director of the Petru Poni Chemical Research Institute of Iasi, vice president of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Stefan Stefanescu	Director of the N. Iorga History Institute, Bucharest
Voicu Tache	Dean, Bucharest Polytechnical Institute
Ion Totu	Director general, Central Institute for Economic Research
Serban Titeica	Consulting professor at the Universitv of Bucharest, vice president of the Academy
Ilie Vaduva	Rector, Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies
Ionel Silviu Vlad	Rector, Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca
Radu Voinea	Rector, Bucharest Polytechnical Institute
Gheorghe Zarnea	Director general, Bucharest Central Biology Institute

General School Inspector from the Counties

Ion Jinga	General school inspector, Bucharest Municipalitv
Nicolae Ciobota	General school inspector, Alba County
George Ticulescu	General school inspector, Arad County
Elena Mateescu	General school inspector, Arges County
Lucian Agachi	General school inspector, Bacau County

Viorica Piscoi	General school inspector, Bihor County
Gavrila Hoza	General school inspector, Bistrita-Nasaud County
Mihai Matei	General school inspector, Botosani County
Cornelia Albu	General school inspector, Brasov County
Radu Ciuca	General school inspector, Braila County
Maria Apostoiu	General school inspector, Buzau County
Petru Rosetl Codila	General school inspector, Caras-Severin County
Mariana Radutiu	General school inspector, Cluj County
Olga Dutu	General school inspector, Constanta County
Iulian (Benedek) Oprea	General school inspector, Covasna County
Victor Ivascu	General school inspector, Dimbovita County
Gheorghe Calbureanu	General school inspector, Dolj County
Georgeta Antohe	General school inspector, Galati County
Elena Bavita	General school inspector, Gorj County
Pavel Stefan Laszlofy	General school inspector, Harghita County
Nicolae Andronache	General school inspector, Hunedoara County
Atena Visoiu	General school inspector, Ialomita County
Domnica Murgoci	General school inspector, Iasi County
Elena Maria Badila	General school inspector, Ilfov County
Letitia Pintea	General school inspector, Maramures County
Iancu Bunoiu	General school inspector, Mehedinti County
Stefan Benta	General school inspector, Mures County
Maria Uta	General school inspector, Neamt County
Ion Patrascu	General school inspector, Olt County
Domnica Alexandrescu	General school inspector, Prahova County
Gavrila Ardelean	General school inspector, Satu Mare County
Milas Leontina Muller	General school inspector, Salaj County
Ana Nicolau	General school inspector, Sibiu County
Dumitru Bodnariuc	General school inspector, Suceava County
Traian Mitrus	General school inspector, Teleorman County
Vasile Bolog	General school inspector, Timis County
Virginia Catrinescu	General school inspector, Tulcea County
Constantin Clisu	General school inspector, Vaslui County
Gheorghe Simeanu	General school inspector, Vilcea County
Aurora Stavrache	General school inspector, Vrancea County

Teaching Cadres in Preschool, Elementary, Gymnasium and High School Education

Natalia Alecu	Director,Nursery School No 1, Motru, Gorj County
Olimpia Andreescu	Director, Nursery School No 3, Oltenita, Ilfov County
Elena Bar ulescu	Professor at Scornicesti High School, Olt County
Cornelia Boghianu	Professor at Balcesti Agroindustrial High School, Vilcea County
Margareta Botoc	Director at Nursery School No 40, Sibiu
Maria Bulacu	Director at School No 1, Cimpulung, Arges County
Traian Buta	Director, Silvic High School, Nasaud, Bistrita-Nasaud County
Ecaterina Calina	Director, Industrial High School No 1, Galati
Cornelia Cimpeanu	Professor, Panait Cerna Industrial High School,Braila
Valentina Constantinescu	Professor at the Economic and Administrative Law High School, Rosiori de Vede, Teleorman County

Teodora Cocheanu	Director of Industrial High School No 2 of Sighisoara, Mures County
Maria Cristea	Deputy director of Industrial High School No 6 of Satu Mare
Elena Diaconescu	Professor at Spiru Haret High School, Tulcea
Maria Dinulescu	Director of School No 9, Ploiesti
Iuliana Duda	Professor at Industrial High School No 1, Resita, Caras-Severin County
Viorica Filimon	Director at Nursery School No 1, Cluj-Napoca
Cornelia Helgiu	Director of Industrial High School, Birlad, Vaslui County
Viorica Hinoveanu	Deputy director of N. Balcescu High School, Craiova
Aurelia Ion	Teacher at Constanta Pedagogical High School
Elena Manoliu	Teacher at School No 3, Slobozia, Ialomita County
Aurelia Iuga	Teacher at Buzau Pedagogical High School
Nicolae Josza	Director of Bethlen Gabor Industrial High School, Aiud, Alba County
Niculina Aretia Lache	Teacher at School No 56, Bucharest
Floare Marta	Director of Economic and Administrative Law High School, Oradea
Vasile Margineanu	Director of Grivita Rosie Industrial High School, Bucharest
Elena Mihai	Director of I. L. Caragiale High School, Bucharest
Olga Mihai	Director of Nursery School No 18, Bacau
Aurora Mihaila	Director of Health High School, Iasi
Alexandru Nadaban	Director of Industrial High School No 2, Arad
Veronica Maria Petrascu	Teacher at School No 10, Timisoara
Erich Pfaff	Director of N. Lenau High School, Timisoara
Iuliana Mihaela Pop	Deputy director of Industrial High School No 2, Miercurea-Ciuc, Harghita County
Anna Benedek	Teacher at Birborteni School, Covasna County
Stefana Murgu	Teacher at School No 1, Focsani, Vrancea County
Aurelia Porumb	Professor at School No 2, Jibou, Salaj County
Draguta Puscasu	Director of Industrial High School No 1, Piatra-Neamt
Eugenia Simion	Professor at Drobeta-Turnu Severin Pedagogical High School
Elena Simionescu	Director of School No 5, Tirgoviste, Dimbovita County
Costin Stefanescu	Professor, editor -in-chief of TRIBUNA SCOLII
Maria Tampa	Director of Nursery School No 33, Brasov
Ervin Karl Ulbrich	Director of 7 November Industrial High School, Sibiu
Eliza Vaduva	Professor at Petrosani Industrial High School No 1
Ileana Ilies	Teacher at School No 2, Baia Mare, Maramures County
Aglaia Trandafirescu	Teacher at School No 2, Pucioasa, Dimbovita County

Representatives of Workers in Production

Maria Afrasinei	Worker at Botosani Moldova Textile Enterprise
Elena Anghel	Worker at Bucharest Readymade and Knitwear Factory in Bucharest
Eufrosina Angheluta	Worker at Vaslui Readymade Clothing Enterprise

Dumitru Antonie	Spinner at Craiova's Electripower Enterprise
Petru Ardelean	Foreman at the Wood-Processing Combine in Sighet, Maramures County
Paraschiva Bela	Lathe-machine operator at Hunedoara Iron and Steel Combine
Angela Bujenaru	Foreman at Bacau's Partisan Enterprise
Traian Bratu	Foreman at Braila's Progress
Gheorghe Buruc	Locksmith at Bucharest 23 August Enterprise
Lina Ciurea	Shift chief at Rimnicu Vilcea Chemical Combine
Aspasia Cucsa	Head technician at Galati Naval Jobsite
Niculina Dragnescu	Spinner at Petroleum Equipment Enterprise in Tirgoviste, Dimbovita County
Claudiu Getwan	Electrician foreman at Red Steel Enterprise, Caras-Severin County
Nicolae Iana	Casting foreman at Bucharest Heavy Machinery Enterprise
Elisabeta Iliescu	Machinist-packager at Bucharest Pharmaceutical Enterprise
Stefan Juhasz	Locksmith at Arad Train Car Enterprise
Nastasia Lupu	Chemist foreman at Borzesti Petrochemical Combine
Lucica Mitrica	Foreman at Alexandria Rolling Stock Enterprise
Irina Molnar	Member of Lopadea Noua Agricultural Production Cooperative, Alba County
Floare Negoita	Knitter at Wool Industry Enterprise, Timisoara
Florica Solomon	Worker at Brazi Petrochemical Combine
Ilie Stelea	Foreman at Brasov Truck Enterprise
Elena Serban	Member of Berceni Commune Agricultural Production Cooperative, Ilfov County
Ana Tofan	Worker at Suceava Wood-Processing Combine
Eugenia Toma	Computer Machinery operator at Iasi Knitwear Enterprise
Grigore Tundrea	Foreman, Gorj County
Ioan Verdes	Carpenter at Covasna Wood-Processing Combine
Pamfil Vlaicu	Miner at Lupeni Mining Enterprise, Hunedoara County

II. Leadership Committee of the Higher Council for Education and Instruction

President
Stefan Voitec

First Vice President

Aneta Spornic	Minister of education and instruction

Vice Presidents

Suzana Gadea	President of the Council for Socialist Culture and Education
Gheorghe Mihoc	President of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania
Leonte Rautu	President of the Leadership Council, rector of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy
Ioan Ursu	First vice president of the National Council for Science and Technology

Members

Mircea Angelescu	Bucharest University Center Party Committee first secretary
Ioan Anton	Vice president of the Academy, rector of Timisoara Polytechnical Institute
Elena Anghel	Worker at Bucharest Readymade Clothing and Knitwear Factory
Mihai Mirjau	President of the National Council of Pioneer Organization
Aurelia Bondrea	Director of the Directorate for Personnel and Instruction at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Zoe Dumitrescu-Busulenga	Director of the George Calinescu Literary History Institute
Nicu Ceausescu	Secretary of the UTC Central Committee
George Ciucu	Rector of the University of Bucharest
Elena Eno	President of the Committee of the Union of Trade Unions for the educational, science and culture institutes
Iuliu Furo	State secretary at Ministry of Education and Instruction
Leonida Gherasim	Rector of the Bucharest Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy
Ion Hinga	General school inspector for Bucharest Municipality
Vasile Marginean	Director of the Grivita Rosie Industrial High School, Bucharest
Rada Nocanu	Deputy minister of education and instruction
Dumitru Murgoci	General school inspector for Iasi County
Constantin Petre	Deputy minister of education and instruction
Ioan Puia	Rector of Cluj-Napoca Agronomic Institute
Maria Radoi	Deputy minister of education and instruction
Tudor Stoica	President of the Council of the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania, UTC Central Committee secretary
Stan Soare	Deputy head of the RCP Central Committee Propaganda Section
Ilesma Stanescu	Secretary of the party committee at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Ilie Stelea	Foreman at the Brasov Truck Enterprise
Ionel Tripsa	State secretary at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Voicu Tache	Dean of the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute
Ilie Vaduva	Rector of the Bucharest Academy of Economic Studies

III. Executive Bureau of the Higher Council for Education and Instruction

President	
Aneta Spornic	Minister of education and instruction

Members

Marin Radoi	Deputy minister of education and instruction
Rada Mocanu	Deputy minister of education and instruction
Constantin Petre	Deputy minister of education and instruction
Iuliu Puro	State secretary at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Iosif Tripsa	State secretary at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Ileana Stanescu	Secretary of the party committee at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Nicu Ceausescu	UTC Central Committee secretary
Tudor Mohora	President of the Council of the Union of Communist Student Associations of Romania, UTC Central Committee secretary
Mihai Hirjau	President of the National Council of Pioneer Organization
Elena Eno	President of the Committee of the Union of trade unions in the educational, science and culture institutes
Aurelian Bondrea	Director of the Directorate for Personnel and Instruction at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Ion Rizescu	Director of the Directorate for Organization and Control at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Marin Iliescu	Director of the Directorate for Social Sciences, Educational and Sports Activity at the Ministry of Education and Instruction
Ion Jinga	General school inspector for Bucharest Municipality

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CSO: 2700

LAX PUNISHMENT FOR ECONOMIC VIOLATIONS CRITICIZED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian No 5, May 1980 pp 68-70

[Article by Dragomir Horomnea: "Repeated Violations, Punished by... A Reduction in Requirements"]

[Text] Foreman Ion Covrig had been recognized for many years as an essential man in the Craiova Chemical Combine, a good organizer, a skilled specialist in electronics and automation, receiving advanced training on the job, with important achievements in innovation and improvement--for which reasons he was entrusted with the leadership of a work team charged with precision operations in a key department of the combine. Look, however, what the praises brought--the "free hand" that he was given in the automation department had the opposite effect on him than was anticipated. He no longer carried out the assignments of the party which were incumbent upon him as a member of the bureau of the basic organization, he adopted a "method" of intimidating and threatening those around him in order to make them take part in various abuses, which culminated in the use of materials and of certain people from the enterprise in order to carry out some work in his own private interest. At the same time he caused an unhealthy and immoral climate in the collective of which he was a part, exceeding the boundaries of correctness in relations with some female subordinates, facts which encouraged gossip and a lack of discipline, while he was sheltered by the esteem which he enjoyed in the eyes of the unit leadership as a result of personal merit on the production line.

The reaction of the communists was demonstrated, unfortunately on a delayed basis, by sanctioning Ion Covrig with a "vote of censure with a warning", expulsion from the bureau of the basic organization, and criticism in the general assembly. At the same time it was also decided to move him to another place of work, a decision which is proving to be among the most unfortunate. Aside from the fact that this seemed like an avoidance of accountability, a passing on of the responsibility regarding the involvement of the collective in the process of straightening out one of its

members, the measure encouraged the removal of foreman Covrig from the sight of those who best knew both his weaknesses and strengths, they being the ones with the greatest capability to contribute to his rehabilitation as well as to the elimination from their own activities of the weaknesses which had facilitated the appearance of the violations mentioned.

At the new work place--workship EC-301 in the electrical department--foreman Covrig, retained in the position of head of a work team, continued to look after his own interests. In spite of this, the general assembly of the basic organization of the workshop unanimously decided to reduce the sanction given by the automation department, and the bureau of the party committee of the combine upheld the decision during the precise period when foreman Covrig was carrying out other serious violations.

Returning to his former practices and bad habits, he began again to use his subordinates and the materials of the enterprise to carry out his personal affairs during the work schedule, whether within the confines of the combine or outside of it. In March of 1978, for example, he garaged his car in the courtyard of a subordinate, Ion Vinatoru from Insalnita, and, during the course of many weeks, some of the people of the team went by there--Nicusor Zamfira, Ion Tanase, Stefan Tomita, Ion State, Gheorghe Gherghinescu, Florin Verde, Dumitru Cornac and Marin Nistor--and performed a great deal of repair work (mechanical, body work and paint) with materials stolen from the combine, everyone being logged present on the schedule and, as a result, receiving their salaries. Others, such as Gheorghe Ulucanu and Elena Ionescu, while they did not leave the workshop, agreed to carry out work there for Ion Covrig, of course, under the shield of a falsified time sheet.

"Certainly the new violations by foreman Covrig could have been prevented from the very beginning if even one of those involved had shown evidence of honesty, vigilence, or fighting spirit," comrade Ion T. Popescu, head of the organizational department of the municipal party committee told us. "On the contrary, driven by a totally erroneous understanding of the concept of friendship, they hid the fact for a long time, taking pleasure in the deception until, as a result of certain quarrels that took place at a party of the many people in Covrig's organization, some people decided to make the violations known. While, up until now they themselves were participants in it."

Seven of the accomplices in the violations are party members. Thus, they were much more obligated to respect the provisions of the party statute, the principles of the socialist code of ethics and justice, decidedly and relentlessly opposing the proposals of the foreman, openly and immediately adopting an attitude of a true communist. Equally serious, it seems to us, is the de of the basic organization of the electrical workshop, which, in discussing the Covrig case ignored the fact that he was not the

only culprit. He again received a "vote of censure with a warning", although voices were also heard proposing expulsion, since a repeat of the actions was considered serious and incompatible with the principles of socialist ethics and justice which every communist should be guided by. The others, however, escaped without any kind of punishment from the party, as if complicity, defrauding the state of money, and covering up the truth are negligible in assessing the degree of morality of a person. Through this attitude, the basic organization itself turned out to be the weakness. They did not carry on any other kind of discussion, they did not ask anyone why it was that the head of the workshop did not notice that subordinate workers were regularly missing from the work schedule for many days and weeks on end. Furthermore, strict control over the activities in the workshop, exemplary organization of the work of every team, a more precise allocation of the work load, a more accurate accounting of the time sheets, greater familiarity with the people and concern by everyone for the judicious maintenance and management of the materials within the confines of the department would have contributed positively to the prevention of the violations.

The lack of concern for a final solution to the case in a discussion which should have dealt with it carefully and considered all its implications, was also displayed by the ease with which it was decided, again, to move Ion Covrig to another workshop. Just as, after the first violation, the basic organization which he left no longer had the possibility of directly controlling the progress of the case, the basic organization that he moved into did not, for its part, have at its disposal all the facts that led to the sanctioning.

Thus it was made easier for Ion Covrig to continue to escape from responsibility and from the control which the organization should have exercised over him. Just a few months after he received the second "vote of censure with a warning" his transfer was approved, in the interest of the organization(!), to the heavy equipment enterprise in Craiova. We found him in the numerical control workshop of this enterprise. Here he is also unanimously appreciated for his professional qualities, but, a short time after his arrival in this collective, the state organs carried out an audit on the basis of some information from which it became clear that work which had nothing to do with the obligations of the organization was being carried out during the regular work day, with materials belonging to the enterprise. The information proved to be correct.

Aside from the fact that the effects of the sanction had been diminished, the new transfer also offered Ion Covrig the possibility of keeping silent about both the previous violations committed by him, as well as about their consequences to him. Of course, on the occasion of individual discussions with party members, he also had a conversation with the bureau of the basic organization. With all this, as the official report of 10 January 1980 revealed, the newcomer continued to indulge himself at the expense of honor

and self-discipline. "I did not consider it necessary to mention the problem, since it belonged in the past," he told us with equanimity, forgetting that the sanction had not been removed.

It is true that, at the time, the bureau of the basic organization did not know that the newcomer had been sanctioned by the other organization. Engineer Ion Rogoveanu, assistant secretary for organizational problems of the party committee of the enterprise, who received the various explanations of the hierarchical organ, along with the forms for transferring Ion Covrig, told us that he didn't find a word informing the basic organization in that regard. Lack of interest? Minimalization of the educational side of a sanction? Negligence? A discussion with comrade Ion Rogoveanu proved, in fact, that this attitude is encountered all over. Unfortunately, comrade Costel Stoian, secretary of basic organization number 11, to which the communists from the numerical control workshop also belonged, fell into the same error. Although he had heard "some things" about Ion Covrig in February he didn't try to have a discussion with either Covrig or with anyone else for the explanations which are so necessary in such a situation.

The "Covrig case", which in fact exceeded the strict boundaries of a problem of a single individual, perhaps would not have occurred if, as has again been shown, a climate of correctness and responsibility had been created in the work place, excluding the possibility of such violations. But, once it occurred, a case like this would not have moved on to a more serious level if the basic organization had acted from the beginning with intransigence determined to prevent, through firm measures, the repetition of such situations. By adopting such an indulgent attitude through the type of sanction given, limiting the measures only to the principal person involved and abandoning the systematic following of the method of correction, the basic organizations to which foreman Covrig belonged helped her to persist in his wrongdoing. This is why it is urgently necessary in such circumstances to adopt an attitude of profound self-criticism, of party-minded exactingness to intensify educational work, and to manifest, without any reticence or hesitation, revolutionary combativeness toward any kind of lack or weakness--conditions essential for strengthening the communist ranks, for the continuous growth of the vigor and prestige of the party organization.

CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO IVORY COAST--Ivory Coast President Felix Houphouet-Boigny received the farewell call of departing Romanian Ambassador Ion Dumitru. [AU211955 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 21 Jun 80 AU]

MERIT AWARD--By presidential decree signed by President Nicolae Ceausescu the award of the Star of the Socialist Republic of Romania, First Class, was conferred on Comrade Stefan Voitec on his 80th birthday [for] his long activity in the workers movement and his contribution to implementing party-state policies. The RCP Central Committee also sent a letter to Comrade Stefan Voitec expressing appreciation for his particular contribution to the successful progress of socialist construction in our fatherland and extending congratulations, wishes for good health and vigor for work. [AU190809 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0400 GMT 19 Jun 80 AU]

RCP CABLES GREEK COMMUNISTS--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/6/1980--The CC of the RCP sent a telegram of condolence to the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party (of the Interior), in connection with the passing away of Dimitrios Partsalidis, important militant of the communist movement of Greece and front-ranking fighter in the resistance movement against the fascist occupation. The telegram expresses the most sincere condolence and conveys sympathy to the bereaved family. [Text] [AU261145 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1800 GMT 25 Jun 80 AU]

COLOMBIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS VISIT--Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/6/1980--Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Romanian Grand National Assembly, received on June 26 a group of members of the House of Representatives of the National Congress of the Republic of Colombia, including Deputies Ricardo Ramirez Osorio, Luis Bernabe Montova Gomez, Jaime Salazar Robledo, Hernando Ramirez Guevara and Ricardo Leon Baquero Narino, now visiting Romania. During the interview, they approached questions of activity of the two legislative assemblies, as well as aspects of collaboration of parliamentary representatives of the two countries in international organizations. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1737 GMT 26 Jun 80 AU]

CSO: 2700

COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIZING PROGRAM FOR NAVY OUTLINED

Belgrade MORNARICKI GLASNIK in Serbo-Croatian No 2, Mar-Apr 80 pp 211-216

[Article by Col Vladan Karadzic: "Economic Efficiency, Operational Efficiency and Economy in the Navy"]

[Text] At a time when our society is making great efforts toward economic stabilization, when a number of measures are being carried out to bring general and community consumption within normal limits and to keep the growth of that consumption below the growth of the social product and the national income so as to increase the accumulative and reproductive capability of the economy, it becomes the task and obligation of all users of public funds to carry out a planned and rigorous effort to save on all forms of consumption.

All needs of the navy have been brought into conformity with the development policy which has been defined and sketched out and with the tasks that arise out of the medium-term plan. These needs have been brought into conformity with society's present material capabilities to make allocations for defense of the country, and it is indispensable to economize on the available funds as much as possible. The navy possesses enormous physical assets and receives and uses large amounts of money. There exist, then, the objective conditions and prerequisites for achieving large economic, financial and other constructive benefits through greater and more responsible commitment of all factors and through economy measures.

In past years important results have been achieved in this area. The campaign for efficient and economical business operation and a stewardly attitude toward appropriated materials and funds has become a question of the first order not only from the economic standpoint, but also the political standpoint, and has been a constant concern of all structures of the navy and the organization of the LCY.

Important changes have occurred in the behavior of officers and men in this sector. This can be seen in the greater responsibility, in the more efficient and economical operation, in the greater savings, in the stewardly attitude toward materials and money, in the ever greater respect for

economic factors in making decisions, respect for regulations, and so on. The LCY organization has played a large role in this area. It has given party members confidence in responsible behavior, and cases of neglect and misappropriation of public property have become rarer and rarer. Aside from the results achieved in the period so far, certain shortcomings have also been evident. They are essentially subjective in nature.

The directive of the federal secretary for national defense on drafting the annual plan of tasks and financing for 1980 set specific tasks in the area of economy and efficient and economical business operation. All units and institutions have drafted their own economy programs and have undertaken a new effort for efficient and economical business operation and expenditure of the available funds. The programs have incorporated measures and actions which units and institutions will take within the framework of a large number of tasks and activities. We will present some of the key questions on which there should be commitment in the area of economic and operational efficiency and economy in the navy.

Plan for Furnishing the Navy Weapons, Military Equipment and Wartime Material Reserves

Funds allocated for development, construction and purchase of vessels, weapons, supplies and equipment are considerably greater than in previous years. In carrying out the supply plan the effort must be continued toward adoption of standards, interchangeability and adoption of specific lines and models. The principal orientation should be toward domestic manufacture and toward reducing the volume of purchases based on imports. Due attention should be paid to the infrastructure and spare parts. Maximum use should be made of all experience acquired to date. All proposals for construction and purchasing should be competently and thoroughly prepared in several alternatives. If the phases are correctly defined during negotiation of contracts so that in terms of both time and value they represent technical and economic entities, it will be possible to carry them out within the periods specified, so that the entire facility, vessel or weapon is obtained on time.

Obligations defined in the contract as the obligations of the purchaser must be strictly respected and promptly performed, since this excludes the possibility of extension of the delivery period through the customer's fault.

Manufacturers' requests for extension of delivery periods must be examined in detail and approved only when the reasons constitute a force majeure.

When contracts are concluded for the purchase of capital assets, it is mandatory to conclude a contract for delivery of spare parts as well. Expansion of the volume of the purchasing plan is acceptable only in cases of essential and interventionary purchases, in cases of deliveries offered subsequently, breakdowns and accidents.

Fulfillment of the supply plan must be continuously monitored, periodic analyses must be made, and the necessary steps must immediately be taken to correct the shortcomings which are found.

Scientific Research

Scientific research and development facilities should be oriented toward priority tasks which have an essential impact on dates for furnishing to the navy the weapons and military equipment which have been planned. Industrial cooperation and other forms of collaboration in the domain of research and development with manufacturing and scientific institutions in the country should continue, and a portion of the tasks should be transferred to them on a contract basis.

Wherever possible, especially in transactions involving the equipping of institutes, projects should be carried out within naval establishments, using the capacities of workshops and laboratories themselves. This capability should also be used in maintaining and repairing the equipment and furniture of institutes. Available capabilities should be used as efficiently as possible to render services to the civilian sector as a way of increasing the planned revenues. An effort should be made, insofar as possible, to plan domestic instead of imported raw materials and supplies in carrying out development projects.

Regular Activity

This group of tasks constitutes an area where large savings can be achieved. It absorbs tremendous amounts of money and is dependent on standard allowances, standard rates of consumption and the character of tasks. The principal programs in this grouping are training and sociopolitical education, construction, adaptation and maintenance of military building structures, the repair of ships, equipment and weapons, food service, clothing, health care, heating, lighting, water, payment of active military personnel and civilian employees, functional tasks, etc.

Certain of the tasks in this grouping are given priority in planning because of their nature and the funds have to be provided according to the prescribed allowances so as to ensure the normal course of training, life and work (food service, clothing, medical treatment, repairs, training, salaries, etc.), and we will have something more to say about some of them.

The tasks in this grouping also deserve particular attention because those activities are included here in which sizable savings could be achieved through efficient business operation and economy and through purposive and planned disposition of funds. One circumstance that especially favors saving is that commanding officers at all levels of command make decisions on commitment and expenditure of these funds. All sailors, soldiers and cadets can become involved in economic efficiency, operational efficiency and economy in this area, and because there are so many of them, large benefits can be achieved with minimum individual efforts.

Training and Education

Optimality and economy in this area should be based on measures and efforts to perform all tasks set by plans and programs for training and education with the available funds.

Because of the considerable rise in prices of fuel and expendable supplies, because of the higher fees for official and troop travel, and more expensive expendable teaching supplies and the like, appropriate measures toward optimality and economy in the conduct of training must be constantly undertaken without damaging the quality of training. The appropriations which have been approved should be used to ensure a further rise in training to a higher level, especially in carrying out the plan for educating sailors at all levels and in all fields in the Seaman's School Center.

Material support of performance of functional tasks should be provided according to the allowances in effect. Regular technical inspections and repairs of physical facilities used in instruction should be done mainly in instructional and technical workshops, and only major repairs should be done in repair shops or, exceptionally, in civilian enterprises.

Whenever possible driving for training purposes should be done during driving organized in order to train fleet units so as to reduce costs of fuels and lubricants.

Maintenance and Repair of Ships and Other Materiel

Full attention must be paid to maintaining and repairing ships and other materiel, especially in the area of capital maintenance. Prescribed periods for regular inspections of ships and other facilities in operation and also those which have been stored--in mothballs--must be adhered to.

All existing potential should be discovered in repair workshops for raising labor productivity, improving quality, reducing costs, speeding up repair time and improving business efficiency. Labor productivity should be raised through better organization of work, of transport within the workshop, between shops and within the facility generally, through the use of new machines and tools, and through improvement of operating procedures. Depreciation, which passes its value on to the production cost, should be reduced by eliminating unnecessary capital assets through sale, scrapping or gratis transfer. The reduction of interest on credit during the period of construction can be brought about by putting credit funds which have been approved to work as soon as possible, an effort that could achieve tremendous savings.

In the purchasing of spare parts and construction and expendable materials use should be made of outline contracts concluded by the competent command. A constant effort must be made at all levels to reduce operating costs, among other things, by larger savings in consumption of electric power, fuel, water and office supplies.

A maximum commitment should be made to replacing imported spare parts and processing materials with products from the domestic market.

Losses regardless of reason, but especially because of sick leave, must be systematically monitored and analyzed, and all factors should be involved in taking every step to reduce them and bring them into normally permitted limits. Remuneration of workers according to work has decisive influence on the economic efficiency and profitability of business operation, which should be borne in mind in revising the regulations that exist on the business operation of repair plants.

Construction Activity

A reduction of funds for noneconomic investment projects applies to all recipients of appropriations from the federal budget. That is why smaller funds were approved to meet the needs of construction activity in the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army] and accordingly in the navy, than in previous years.

Priority in this group of tasks should be given to completion of projects already begun and to maintenance of existing structures. Even though the funds are limited and certain planned projects will be done over a longer period of time, construction activity in the navy is still rather extensive and involves large amounts of money.

Work projects to complete new facilities and adapt old ones are being carried out in several garrisons, units and institutions of the navy. In spite of all the restrictions, these projects are being constantly expanded and are becoming more and more expensive. It is indispensable to make a detailed analysis of all construction plans up to the end of 1980 and 1985 and bring them within real limits.

Planning Imports of Weapons and Military Equipment

In view of the status of our balance of international payments, which is unfavorable for our country, all structures in the navy must find ways of replacing imported equipment, instruments and processing materials with products from domestic manufacturers. The principle must therefore be adhered to of not approving imports of equipment and supplies if they can be purchased on the domestic market. All naval units and institutions submitting applications for importation of equipment, instruments and processing materials must include documentation showing that the article to be imported is not manufactured in the country. Imports shall not be approved without that documentation.

When imported spare parts are being purchased for maintaining and repairing equipment and weapons in the navy, a detailed examination should be made and imports should be approved only for those parts and those amounts which are indispensable in the particular period of time and for those facilities which have promise in the future.

If the campaign for thrift and more optimum expenditure and use of funds is to be properly understood and taken up by all members of the navy and if it is to become lasting in nature, the indispensable steps to be taken would include the following:

i. in meetings of all units and institutions examination and analysis of specific programs for economy and optimal and economical business operation and constant adoption of measures to carry out the planned tasks;

ii. in meetings of collectives, when all plans and tasks are being examined, the economy factor must always be present;

iii. economy and optimality must be present and incorporated into each of our proposals, decisions, measures, activity programs, and planning items, and in every capital investment program;

iv. critical analysis should be made of execution of the economy program at the end of each month, at the same time when performance of the operational plan is analyzed;

v. when visits are made to subordinate units and institutions, a special check should be made as to how the planned economy measures and actions are being carried out and as to their results;

vi. the LCY organization, the trade unions and the Socialist Youth League should also play an important role in this campaign, since economy and more efficient and economical business operation and behavior have an importance that is not only economic, but also political.

7045
CSO: 2800

OBSERVATION,REPORTING,NOTIFYING ALERT SERVICE CHARTED

Belgrade FRONT in Serbo-Croatian 30 May 80 pp 34-35

[Article by M. Trajkovic: "Defense Against Surprise"]

[Text] The OJOU [Observation, Reporting, Notifying and Alert Service] is being organized over the territory of our country in all sociopolitical communities from the opstina to the Federation. Certain of its elements are being established by local communities and organizations of associated labor when so ordered. In view of its purpose and the tasks it is to perform both in peacetime and also to a greater extent in possible war, this service represents an important component of the system of nationwide defense and prevents the surprise which a potential aggressor would strive for. That is why working people and citizens, organizations of associated labor, local communities and other self-managed organizations and communities and civil defense are participating in detecting and monitoring the activity of the enemy, and in wartime particularly on temporarily occupied territory. In advance of aggression this is ensured on an area under control of our armed forces by timely activation and unhindered functioning of the OJOU.

This service, in collaboration with corresponding military services and agencies, discovers and monitors all types of activities and threats by an aggressor (in wartime), and in peacetime dangers from natural disasters and technical accidents threatening human life and property. Within this system of the OJOU and in the opstina, as the basic sociopolitical community, there is the Notification and Alert Center, which has specialized and administrative staffs and a network of visual observation posts. The service of the OJOU system is furnished with equipment and devices, above all for observation and communications, so that it can successfully perform its tasks at any time and under the most difficult weather conditions.

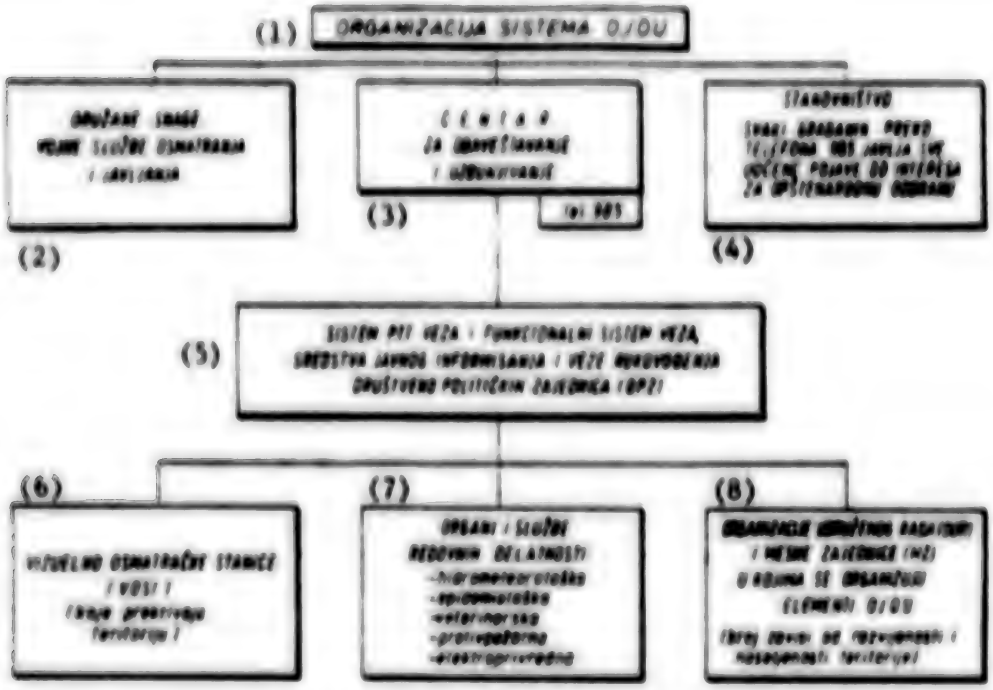
Within the framework of this system VOSt [visual observation posts] detect and monitor all types of dangers from an aggressor's actions from the air, on land, or on water (sea, rivers and lakes) and dangers from attacks with nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. On the basis of the observed danger or instrument reading which indicate this, prompt steps are taken to

shelter and protect the civilian population and also members of the armed forces in the particular zone. The number of these posts within an opstina or local community varies, depending on several elements: the size and shape of its territory, the relief and characteristics of the terrain, the type and number of facilities important to nationwide defense, etc.

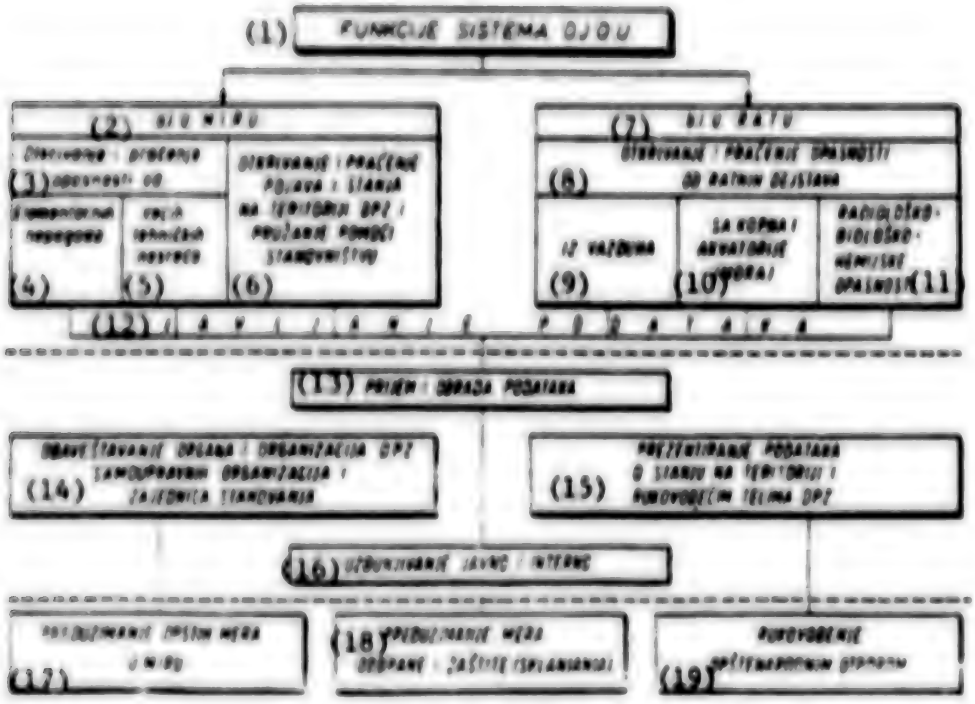
The personnel of the visual observation posts report data on various types of dangers, especially the appearance of aggressor detachments and units over communications equipment or in some other manner to the centers that exist at the level of the Federation, the republics, the provinces, regions (opstina communities), opstinas, local communities and those organizations of associated labor in which provision has been made for them. For the sake of maximum efficiency of operation and to eliminate the possibility of surprise, the OJOU system also includes certain agencies and services performing regular activities which they professionally perform, observing and monitoring particular phenomena in their area in peacetime. Thus this system includes PTT [postal, telegraph and telephone] work organizations with their communication system, the hydrometeorology service, the health care and veterinary service, the service for plant protection with its phytosanitary stations, the firefighting service, the radio-TV network, the public security service, and others. In addition to performing tasks as part of their regular activity, they all detect and monitor phenomena of significance to defense and protection, and they immediately send data on this over the existing communications system, relying on the PTT, to the OJOU center to which they are connected. It is important to emphasize that all OJOU centers in Yugoslavia have the same identifying telephone number--985, which is used to report everything that is noticed and detected.

This makes it possible for private individuals, wherever they might be, to call in damage to telephone and power lines, to report on suspicious individuals and groups which might reasonably be supposed to have been illegally infiltrated into our country to carry out terrorist actions and sabotage against important facilities or distinguished personalities, and also to report other types of danger and other types of threats. This makes it possible not only to collect important intelligence on activities of enemies in the field, but also for our authorities to take rapid and effective steps to seize or destroy them as soon as they threaten action against our country.

It is clear from the data presented that in the system of nationwide defense and social self-protection familiarization with the organization and mode of operation of the service for observation, reporting, notifying and alert is the best way to prevent any surprise and to avoid undesirable consequences. And it is not exclusively the concern of the responsible factors and agencies which are the principal participants in it, but above all of all the working people and citizens, who are the most numerous participants in this system. Large-scale involvement in this system is in the interest not only of the broader social community, but indeed of all citizens in the most direct way, since this is a part of self-management, and it is a part of our regular obligations.



Key:
1. Organization of the OJOU system
2. Armed forces; military observation and reporting services
3. Notification and alert center
4. Civilian population; every citizen uses telephone number 985 to report all things he has noticed which have a bearing on nationwide defense
5. PTT communications system and internal communications system, news media and communications for administration of sociopolitical communities
6. Visual observations stations (VOSt) (covering the territory)
7. Agencies and services carrying on regular activities: hydrometeorology, epidemiology, veterinary, firefighting, electric power industry
8. Organizations of associated labor and local communities in which OJOU elements are being organized (their number depends on the level of development and population density of the area)



Key:
1. Functions of the OJOU system
2. a) In peacetime
3. Detecting and monitoring dangers from the following:
4. Natural disasters
5. Major technical accidents
6. Detecting and monitoring phenomena and conditions on the territory of the sociopolitical community and rendering of assistance to the population
7. b) In wartime
8. Detecting and monitoring dangers from military actions:
9. From the air
10. On land and water (sea)
11. Radiological, biological and chemical hazards
12. Reporting of data
13. Receiving and processing of data
14. Informing agencies and organizations of sociopolitical communities, self-managed organizations and housing communities
15. Presentation of data on the situation in the field to the governing bodies of the sociopolitical community
16. Public and internal alerting
17. Undertaking of general measures in peacetime
18. Undertaking of measures for defense and protection (sheltering)
19. Direction of nationwide resistance

7045
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DISCUSSION OF MILOVAN DJILAS' BOOK ABOUT TITO

Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 27 Jun 80 p 3

[Report by correspondent Heiko Flottau: "The Heretic's New Attack on the Demigod--In a Book About Tito, Milovan Djilas, Casting Doubt on the Late Marshal's Achievements, Reproaches Him for His Striving for Personal Power"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 June--When Tito died, the Yugoslav party organ BORBA came up with the headline "After Tito There Will Be Tito." The journalists of BORBA knew what they were talking about. Since the president's funeral, there has been a campaign such as Yugoslavia has seldom seen. Every day--apparently in accordance with a carefully thought out plan--thousands of people from all parts of the country are brought to Tito's grave. The heads of plants, government offices and private offices have to make the pilgrimage to Belgrade with their people. While generally things work rather poorly in Yugoslavia, in this case the organization evidently is sound. The aim of the indoctrination connected with this travel campaign is clear: everyone is to regard Tito as the unifying element of the multi-people state. The side effect makes critics wonder, however; to a number of people Tito already appears as a higher being, a demigod, in whom all must believe, whom all have to worship.

Because he foresaw the Tito cult and is afraid of its negative effects on Yugoslav democratic development, Milovan Djilas has written a book. Freely translated, the title reads "Society With Tito." In light of the party campaign surrounding Tito, this sounds almost sarcastic, and that is probably the intention. The manuscript was completed a few days before Tito's death. Djilas had worked on it from 1 March to 30 April. (Tito died on 4 May.)

On 154 pages of his manuscript, Djilas divided his material into 13 chapters. The red thread running through the book is Tito's bent for luxury in contradiction to communist ideas (at least that is the way Djilas sees it), but above all--and the author emphasizes this over and over--the striving for personal power which he says was the ruler's supreme principle.

Tito's luxurious living (he is said to have had houses built for himself wherever he pleased) is described by Djilas in the following sentence, for example: "Without a doubt, Tito was the most expensive ruler of his time."

And Tito's striving for personal power, the author tries to elucidate with many examples, saying that Tito embarked on liberalization after 1948 in order to distinguish himself from Stalin, but after Stalin's death, anticipating a reduction of Soviet pressure on Yugoslavia, called off the started liberalization again.

Twice in Jail

Milovan Djilas is one of the few people who knew Tito well personally and dare put this intimate knowledge in a book. During the partisan war Djilas belonged to the intimate leadership circle around Tito, and after 1945 he moved up to high office. In 1954, when Djilas criticized the trend of Yugoslav communism, scoring the officials' privileges, talking about a slowly developing "new class" of functionaries and calling for democratization, it came to a break between the two politicians. Later Djilas twice had to go to jail--from 1956 to 1961 because of his book about "The New Class" and for having criticized, as too soft, Tito's attitude toward the crushing of the Hungarian revolt, and from 1962 to 1971 because of his book "Conversations With Stalin." Today he and his wife live in the center of Belgrade, financially secure because of a state pension but avoided by most former friends.

Djilas--as he puts it--has not written a "sensational book." Whoever expects great revelations--say, about Tito's private life--will be disappointed. Rather, Djilas wants to haul down Tito from his demigod's pedestal on which his successors are putting him for their own benefit. Djilas does not dispute the importance of Tito but tries to point out its limits. This starts with the very first sentence, in which Djilas says that Tito was a man without any talents and distinguished by only one gift--his gift for politics. Such differentiations pervade the book, with Djilas mentioning "numerous tactical errors and "overhasty reactions" by Tito when he was partisan leader. But the author also mentions Tito's strategic abilities, his political farsightedness and his ability to recognize dangers at an early stage. Djilas speaks of Tito's absolute will to live but also of his will of power. Tito was no great thinker, he says, but accepted the ideas of his collaborators; moreover he comprehended and learned things faster than others. Within the framework of the communist movement, he had been a politician who achieved important things but committed decisive irreparable mistakes in the field of the development of human and democratic freedoms.

Again and again Djilas bases his assessment on Tito's having subordinated everything to his personal striving for power. He says "Tito's power was absolute from the start." His belief in himself and in his power had been so unshakable that at the end of his life he invented "collective leadership." In this way, Tito had wanted to prevent anyone from exercising as much power after him, to prevent anyone from abusing his power after him by using it against Tito's work and Tito's reputation. Tito had wanted to create a place in history for himself by portraying his role as unique. Therefore, Djilas argues, he "anticipated" a form of government intended to

guarantee that his person and work would endure. This form of government of "collective leadership," however, contradicted Tito's monopolist style of rule, and this was the reason for the present contradiction of "Titoities"--in other words, communists who were used to anything but collective leadership--having to "cultivate and build up" a form of rule running counter to their principles. Moreover collective leadership could not make any claim to originality. It also existed after Stalin's death, Djilas writes, but neither in domestic nor in foreign affairs does Yugoslavia have the kind of stability the Soviet Union had in the 1950's; it still has to find its place in the world as well as its friends.

In his book Djilas rejects the thesis that the Yugoslav way to socialism is original. Tito's Marxism, he says, does not differ essentially from socialism prevailing in other countries. Titoism was little more than pragmatic leninism coupled with a few social-democratic-sounding formulas of Edvard Kardelj, the late party theoretician. Sound though it is in principle, writes Djilas, self-administration has not exercised any influence on essential developments in Yugoslavia--the strengthening or weakening of the secret police, the rise of oppositionist trends in the party. Nor had the numerous strikes been organized within the framework of self-administration. Finally, it had not changed anything at all in the power of Tito or the party apparatus.

The fact that despite Tito's striving for power people in Yugoslavia live better than the citizens of other socialist countries, Djilas writes, is by no means due to liberalism (Tito never having been a representative of liberal trends in the party) but due to Yugoslavia's international position, its comparative wealth and its history. Actually Yugoslav freedoms, he says, have lagged far behind what could have been accomplished if there had been discussion within the ruling party.

The 12th or penultimate chapter of Djilas' book is headed "Every Godhead Has Its Demon, Every Demon Its Heretic." The "demon" and "heretic" Milovan Djilas is criticizing the "godhead" Tito and the dogmas of "Tito's Yugoslavia." The way in which the temple guardians of Titoism will react to this may prove a decisive touchstone for the further development of Yugoslavia.

8790
CSO: 2300

PROFESSOR JOVAN DJORDJEVIC DISCUSSES SELF-MANAGEMENT

Belgrade RAD (weekly organ of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions) in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 80 pp 4-5

[Interview by Zoja Jovanov with Dr Jovan Djordjevic, professor of constitutional law: "Testimonials Concerning Self-Management"]

[Text] It is the calmest time for Professor Jovan Djordjevic. His hair has been flecked with frosty white for a long time now, his walk has become heavier, but a quick mind cuts through even this period of "a certain age." The arguments of Dr Djordjevic are young. His thoughts run to truths about the standards that prevail in our society as testimony to the (un)constitutionality of everyday life. The professor's voice is quiet and slow, at times monotonous, as though he is delivering a lecture. Love for his position as university teacher has remained in the voice of the professor of constitutional law, in spite of all the highest scholarly honors. So it comes to the same--interviewing him as a professor, as a scholar, as the author of all our constitutions since the war. The answers are the same--a formidable lecture on implementation of the constitution, on self-management, on government. Arguments. Sometimes they are like "birchings," but they are arguments. The observation contained in the very first question met disapproval. That is, we said, and this is the prevailing belief, that our normative system is to be rounded out by the end of the year through the enactment of the laws incorporating the system. [This was followed by the first question.]

[Question] Do you feel that these laws make "sentences" from the "letters" of the constitution?

[Answer] It cannot be said that even the laws incorporating the system are sufficient to entirely implement a constitution, especially a constitution of a relatively new and complicated society like the one developing in

Yugoslavia on the foundations of social ownership and socialist self-management. As far as I know, there is not even a clear outline as to which of the laws "embody the system," so that their enactment is imperative. So, the laws are not and should not be merely "sentences" made up from the "letters" of the constitution. There are two relations between the constitution and legislation. The laws are supposed to elaborate the constitution and its principles, putting them in concrete terms. In second place, the laws derive not only their source, but also their power from the constitution. They must be adopted when the constitution so provides; that is, they are adopted by constitutional authority. Not even outlines of these laws have yet been made public, much less enacted.

In addition, a number of the provisions of the constitution are not being implemented directly, nor do they require implementing laws, in that certain principles of the constitution are implemented and can be implemented in the sphere of self-management law and standards governing public behavior.

[Question] These laws more or less embodying the "economic" system are more a compromise with practice.

[Answer] A law is actually an abstract norm, while economic life is a concrete and complicated process. Confounding the legal norm with these processes detracts from the authority of the law, and for that very reason does not resolve the real problems of economic relations. Recently there has been a manifestation of "legal economism," the phenomenon of attempts to resolve economic issues with laws. It is not every issue that can be the subject of legal regulation. That is why I think we should be very cautious in the legal regulation of complicated economic relations. For example, the law in the domain of expanded reproduction is an ambitious undertaking and will be beneficial only if it can resolve all the specific complicated issues covered and regulated by that term and process.

Our socioeconomic system is still under construction, is constantly being amended and supplemented, often without an adequate systematic foundation, and policy tends to vary. Policy is therefore making use of various individual measures, administrative interventions, to guide the flows of social reproduction.

[Question] To what extent is self-management practice still far from what it should be according to the constitution?

[Answer] Self-management practice, that is, implementation of the constitution and law, are not at all times and in all places in either internal or external conformity with the constitution, nor even with the very meaning and spirit of self-management. The reasons are many, and the "blame" does not fall entirely on the side of practice. Optimum harmony between the norms and their enforcement (practice) requires a widespread political and legal sophistication about self-management. The constitution and the laws

must be clear in their norms, and all subjective factors, especially scholars, the courts and sociopolitical organizations, should have a highly developed and active awareness of this and should influence social relations and the broader social consciousness in that direction. It is also a mistake to suppose that self-management practice is something set down once and for all and that it must stand in a mathematical relationship to the norms. Self-management practice is also expected to be a creator of norms and thereby a factor in spreading and implementing self-management.

[Question] Judging by practice, self-management accords and social compacts are the long arm of the law. As far as we know, not a single one has been adopted without the words "on the basis of the constitution, the Law on Associated Labor ...," that is, it is not just that they do not contradict them, but they never fail to refer to them. Does this mean that the laws have up to now "prescribed" every step by self-management?

[Answer] We are still in a situation in which social norms and public normative "interventionism" are dominant, which is a consequence of a continuing fetishism of government, to which in the sphere of self-management is attributed not only to the influence of an arbiter, but indeed that of a "savior." Given that situation, along with certain limits as to the theoretical level of policy and the legislators themselves, even today self-management law is mostly initiated, and thereby also monitored, by the law, that is, the government.

[Question] What does theory have to say about that?

[Answer] In the interest of optimum and consistent implementation of the essence and function of the political and legal system of socialist self-management, we need to emphasize two basic principles. The first is this: self-management law is autonomous law, which at the same time is a constitutional category to the same degree as a law, that is, government law. In its etymological sense one is autonomous if he himself enacts the laws, that is, adopts the norms. In that sense self-management law has a sphere of creation in which it is free and independent. Self-management norms, and thereby self-management accords as well, need not always refer to the constitution; accordingly, they are neither formally nor directly a constitutional authorization; and still less need they refer to the law. This is a constitutional guarantee of the autonomy of the principals who create self-management norms.

The second principle is this: laws may delegate a certain sphere of their regulation to self-management law, provided they do not restrict or violate the autonomy of self-management and self-management "legislation." This principle should be applied in exceptional cases and with particular care. It must not mean the right of the "stronger" (the government) to transfer to another (self-management institutions) tasks and obligations in the sphere of its own responsibility, nor adoption of the slogan of the competence of self-management amounting to a directive for the "lower level" and "supplemental" jurisdiction of self-management.

[Question] And how are these principles manifested in practice?

[Answer] Neither our legal theory, nor the constitutional courts have adequately expressed and defined all that I have referred to. This darkens people's outlook and makes it more difficult for self-management practice to become optimal, harmonious and responsible. Normative intervention by the government, that is, the practice of legal remote control of self-management acts, disarms self-management legal creativity, which should be one of the forms of the legal or normative system of socialist self-management. At the same time this results in a large number of normative acts which are thrust from above onto the life and work of self-managed organizations and communities. That degree of normativeness, especially an abstract normativeness, weakens the productive dynamism and self-management logic of the principals in self-management.

An excessive number of laws means a reduction of freedom, emphasized the young French lawyer and revolutionary Saint-Just. An excessive number of prescribed self-management acts restricts the freedom of choice and autonomous freedom and responsibility of self-managed organizations and communities. The "steps of self-management" are not prescribed, but are deliberately and independently taken in the play of interests, needs and consciousness of the associated working people.

[Question] How much room is left for the influence of sociopolitical organizations? Isn't their activity exhausted to a greater extent than necessary in the adoption of normative acts?

[Answer] Government legal interventionism at the same time narrows the space for the role and influence of the subjective factors, from the working man to the trade union and the League of Communists. No research has been done, which means it has not been proven, that sociopolitical organizations exhaust their role by the influence they exert on enactment of prescribed normative acts, much less autonomous normative acts. One might rather observe that their influence often comes down to ensuring fulfillment of the obligations which the law places upon self-management organizations, often without foundation. In this respect they are more agents of the state than of self-management.

[Question] Which are those domains of activity in which the so-called subjective factors, especially the trade union, have not yet reached the zenith of their effort in implementing the constitution?

[Answer] It would be difficult to say today that there are situations in which someone has reached the "zenith" of his activity. This also applies to the so-called subjective factors on the question of implementation of the constitution.

[Typesetting errors in the original] ...tivity is not primarily "monitoring implementation of the constitution," but in a pedagogic and ideological

direction. The trade union is expected rather to exert an influence on creation of conditions for the behavior of organizations, collectives and individuals to be brought into conformity with the constitution and self-management and to equip the members of trade unions to be fighters in that domain.

[Question] What do you think about the pluralism of self-management interests and the creativity of the workers in creating so-called self-management legislation in associated labor?

[Answer] The pluralism of self-management interests is a democratic idea and a measure of democratization in the process of expression of ideas, positions and interests and thereby in the process of decisionmaking and creation. In that sense this self-management pluralism can contribute to the role of the workers in creating self-management law. I think that there are neither objective nor subjective reasons for disputing the creativity of the workers in this domain as well. Not only by virtue of their being workers, but if and when they are active and interested in determining their positions, rights and interests through self-management.

All this requires throwing out the prejudices to the effect that only the experts, the lawyers, the economists and the sociologists are capable of formulating norms. They do have certain advantages with respect to technical knowledge and ability. But the truth of self-management, and accordingly the essence of normative regulation, lies in the depth of self-management relations and the self-management life of working communities and collectives. For that reason self-management norms cannot be adopted without the workers, which does not mean that they should not seek the cooperation and help of the specialists and experts. It is therefore necessary for us to have several scientific and other centers which would dedicate their services and knowledge to the advantage of a lively and concrete self-management, and not to describing what self-management is. The cooperation of authentic and self-management legal science is indispensable to preparing and equipping the working people so that they can arrive at the best formulation of their own interests and views. Were this achieved, it might be possible to eliminate the influence of groups and individuals who are "making" and offering "models" of self-management acts. Often these acts are detached from life and unrealistic and constitute a new form of interventionism in the normative creativity of the working class.

[Question] How do you interpret the ever more frequent issuance of "packages" of administrative measures which are supposed to speed up everything that is not moving at the expected pace and rate in self-management and the economy?

[Answer] Packages of administrative measures, which are used especially by executive and administrative agencies, are not in and of themselves and under all conditions unjustified. But they are unjustified when they substitute for a policy defined in advance and when they express the accumulated shortcomings and errors in policy and behavior. Society will have less and

less [typesetting confusion] more responsible and capable of punctually and effectively correcting the difficulties that inevitably arise and of foreseeing their possible occurrence. Administrative regulation is not always an expression of the statist inclinations of particular government agencies. It may be a consequence of a lack of knowledge, resolution, oversight and responsibility. Nevertheless, administrative measures do usually come from "reasons of state," and not from a democratic assessment of the need of society and of real self-management interests of the working people and citizens. However, an administrative measure cannot replace, much less "remedy" erroneous orientations and a policy that is not competent or responsible enough.

[Question] Do you feel that some moral impetus might be more effective in stabilizing the economy than the administrative norm?

[Answer] Legislation must be used when individual cases arrive at the level of generality, when there is a clear idea about their regulability, of purpose and effectiveness in solving problems. If this is lacking, transforming individual interests into legal norms constitutes an illusion that something important is being resolved, but the real problems are not resolved. The inflation of normativeness is contrary to the very function and role of law in our society. Nor does it conform to self-management relations and self-management positions of organizations of associated labor and the working people themselves. I think there should be more boldness in finding concrete solutions to economic relations in economic organizations and industries on the basis of the general legal norms. However, what is much more important is the "socialization" of legal consciousness, of discipline and of social and economic ethics, without which the legal norms are invalid. They become coercion. Excessive normativeness is actually an expression, or rather the nonexistence, of realization of the need to develop socialist consciousness, knowledge, discipline and ethics, or the nonexistence of a general awareness of society concerning the significance of these necessities.

[Question] A certain instability is felt in the balance of power between associated labor and the government by contrast with the balance which is supposed to prevail under the constitution. Has the effort to reduce the power of the government gone to the opposite extreme: an exaggeration of regional governmentalism?

[Answer] Marx' idea of the withering away of the state in socialism continues to arise out of the foundations and institutional framework of our society. We lack sufficient internal forces to guarantee the taking of the first step in dismantling the state and altering the role of the state. I am thinking of what has been called the "governmental authority which restricts authority" even since Aristotle and Montesquieu. Self-management, regardless of the important role which it has in many sectors of society, has not yet become the kind of force which would restrict the role of the state and political power in the fashion urged by the constitution.

The attributes of state centralism are still alive in our political system, and in particular the republics, the provinces and to some extent the optimae are becoming entrenched as forms and pillars of support of governmentalism. Nevertheless, the federal government still figures not as the personification of a community of republics and self-managing principals, but as a form of the highest level of administration and government. That is why the balance between all factors in social regulation and administration is at times stable, but it also breaks down. There is a need for the myth of the state, which still exists in our ideas about society, as the personification of sovereign and absolute power, to be set against the forces which express direct self-management.

[Question] To what extent can the authentic interests of the workers be identified with the interests represented by delegate assemblies?

[Answer] Aside from the role of government bodies, which is still decisive in regulating relations in society, there are also other forms of alienation of the rights and interests of the workers because our entire system of communications is not adequately developed between the workers and decisionmaking. We have attempted in the theoretical area, and to some extent even at the organizational level, to resolve communications among representatives of interests through the delegate system. But it would be an illusion to say that we have altogether succeeded in this, especially in the sense of mutual influence of "upper" and "lower" centers of decisionmaking--if we take the authentic interests of the working class as the measure of success. The delegate principle is ultimately another type of intermediation, and if it is not conceived as an expression of the base the delegate represents, the authentic interests of the workers will be interpreted in the way which rather suits the institutions of the delegate system and to some extent the bureaucracy, that is, the specialized and administrative services in delegate assemblies or outside them. The way out lies in a less trivial conception of the information system, which is still a dogmatic legacy in people's consciousness--the implication that those who are in a position to lead know everything better than those who "merely" are creating the material and cultural values of our society.

[Question] Do you feel that associated labor is well enough equipped to take over that kind of role in society which it ought to have under the constitution?

[Answer] There is no reason to doubt the ability of the associated working people to be decisionmakers and the changers of relations in conformity with the interests of socialism and self-management, which means in the spirit of the constitution. But it would be wrong to absolutize their role and assume that only a change in that direction will resolve our difficulties and shortcomings. In associated labor itself there may be internal difficulties and shortcomings, and that suggests that change, which is emphasized as a condition for creative, progressive and democratic development of our society, is an issue for which we are all responsible and whose

revolution necessitates the commitment, work and responsibility of the entire socialist community, of all and of each individually.

[Question] As one of the creators of our constitutions and legislation as a whole, do you feel responsibility for carrying out what you have written?

[Answer] I feel, and I must feel, responsible for everything I have written, and to some extent I might also be responsible for what is being implemented and how it is being implemented, provided if my cooperation and modest influence are sought. Although I am an advocate of the principle of responsibility, without which there is no self-management and democracy, I do not believe in the absolute responsibility of individuals. Responsibility has its limits, and responsibility without limits is a "witch-hunt" and the seeking of a scapegoat to reduce someone's true responsibility.

[Box on page 5] Against Leaderism

We asked Professor Djordjevic what he takes to be the meaning of the term self-management democracy in decisionmaking? We are giving his response a separate place because it can be taken as a scholarly, legal and moral lesson.

By self-management democracy in general is meant the free self-determination of socialist society. In that context self-management democracy in the process of decisionmaking implies free self-determination of the collective and individuals who exercise decisionmaking responsibilities. Like all democracy, it signifies the following:

i. collective decisionmaking;

ii. freedom of choice and expression of thoughts by each participant, along with respect for the equality and dignity of the participant;

iii. detection and elimination of cases of pressure of "internal groups," aggressive individuals and overbearing know-it-alls and "leaders";

iv. tolerance toward every opinion and respect of everyone's right to express himself even when he is not accustomed to do so and to express his position even when he is obviously wrong;

v. the existence of a chairman, who is not imposed and who does not have the last and final word, but one who thanks to his tact and behavior promotes collective work and free thought and expression;

vi. readiness and effort to establish the common interests, as a rule on the basis of democratic consensus of all participants, along with enforcement of the principle of the majority as a reserve.

Democratic self-management decisionmaking necessitates and presupposes involvement in execution and monitoring execution by all those who freely participated in adoption of the self-management decision.

Here Dr Djordjevic in part was also answering a question about collective leadership, but he also expressed the following ideas:

"Collective decisionmaking in self-managed organizations and communities, speaking in general, should be conceived as the overall interest of socialist society, and not as a secondary and supplemental channel of decisionmaking. Moreover, it is especially important to affirm the sphere of labor and thereby of creation of income as a locus of economic power and decisionmaking. All this presupposes further and more authentic development of socialism and self-management, democratic spirit and a change of personnel policy, which will free itself of traditional 'nomenclatures' and make it possible for ability, knowledge and responsibility to be the basis for distribution of positions and power."

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CONFLICT AT FACTORY OVER NAMING OF DIRECTOR SKETCHED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1535, 1 Jun 80 pp 22-23

[Article by Svetislav Spasojevic: "How To Remove a Director"]

[Text] The most recent attempt to remove Milan Dosen Majkic from the position of general director of Grmec, a factory in Zemun, has also failed. The delegates of the workers' council did not fulfill the desire of certain opstina institutions in a session on 14 May of this year, but in a secret ballot voted confidence in their director. As NIN [newsweekly] goes to press there are no new hints or solutions about removing the director! No one can say with certainty how long the lull will last.

Only some 20 days before the meeting of the workers' council we have mentioned the work community's basic organization of the League of Communists expelled Dosen from the party. This turn of events occurred at a moment when no one expected it. The meeting consisted of nearly the same people, the same charges and finally, the same Milan Dosen Majkic. There was one detail which goes far to making these two meetings different. At the meeting of party members the vote was open, while in the meeting of the workers' council it was secret. Should we look to this detail for the principal reason why the decisions were so different?

If by some accident the incident in Grmec were unique, it would not in and of itself attract all that much public attention. We believe that there are quite a few stories of the same or similar kind, which is why we are giving it space.

The Right Candidate

Dosen was made general director of the Grmec Industry of Asphalt and Synthetic Products on 19 September 1978. His previous position was director of the small enterprise Franjo Krc of Zemun. The workers at Grmec unanimously say today that they did not want him, but that he was thrust upon them. As they see it, this was managed by the same people who are today trying in every possible way to remove him. At that time it was said of

the young and promising mechanical engineer that he was the "only and best candidate for director from Djevdjelija to Triglav"! The approximately 600 workers employed in Grmec listened to the eulogies distrustingly. Nevertheless, Dosen became director.

Just 4 months after his appointment a recommendation came from the opstina "on organizing an initiative for dismissal of the general director"! In February 1979 an extraordinary meeting of the workers' council was held which aside from the 31 members of the council was also attended by representatives of the Zemun Opstina Committee of the League of Communists and the trade union of the same opstina, a handful of workers from Dosen's former enterprise and about 100 persons employed at Grmec. The minutes of that meeting contain the following: "This meeting was called at the initiative of the Trade Union Council (of Zemun--NIN's note) in connection with dismissal of our general director from his present position because of poor business operation evidenced by his work organization ... (the reference is to the enterprise Franjo Krc--NIN's note)."

The findings of the Social Accounting Service and statements of position by the Commission for Personnel Policy and the Commission for Organizational, Political and Personnel Building of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Zemun Opstina Trade Union Council were read at the meeting. All three documents unambiguously supported the conclusion that Milan Dosen Majkic must give up the post of director. The opposite happened. The workers of Grmec simply asked for tangible proof on the basis of which they might make a decision. Three statements were typical:

Jovan Kozoder: "We did not bring the general director here, nor do we wish to removed him. Let those who brought him remove him. At a meeting much like this, when we wanted to have our own man as director, we were told that no one could come from within Grmec, but that they would appoint a director for us. That is what they did. The entire procedure was conducted wrongly."

Sreten Cvetkovic said that other people should stop "worrying about us." After all, it is they who "contributed to this situation by the positions they took. It was in response to their pleading, contrary to self-management, that we undertook the enormous capital investment project costing about 120 billion old dinars."

Miroljub Obrenov: "How long will Grmec be managed by people who do not work here?"

Unanimous Decision

The workers of Grmec, though only 4 months before, as they tell it today, he had been forced upon them, stood behind their director and unanimously rejected the opstina initiative for his dismissal.

"Then the deputy chairman of the workers' council put to a vote the report of the Personnel Commission of the Zemun Opstina Assembly and the initiative of the Opstina Trade Union Council.

"No one voted in favor of the initiative and the report. On the question of the deputy chairman of the workers' council Who is against the report and initiative that had been submitted? all the workers present voted. The deputy chairman cautioned that this was a meeting of the workers' council of the work organization and that only delegates to that management body could vote. The same question was for that reason put to the vote once again, but again all the workers present voted.

"The secretary of the Opstina Trade Union Council cautioned that the workers' council should be allowed to conduct proper proceedings and moved that the chairman repeat the vote.

"The vote was repeated, only delegates of the workers' council voted, and the result was a unanimous

"DECISION

"1) rejecting the report of the Commission for Personnel Policy of the Zemun Opstina Assembly,

"2) rejecting the initiative of the Zemun Opstina Trade Union Council to dismiss Comrade Milan Dosen Majkic from the position of general director of Grmec Industry."

[Box on p 22] Latest News

After the decision of the workers' council rejecting the initiative to institute proceedings for dismissal of the general director Milan Dosen Majkic, the chairman of the Action Conference of the Federation of Trade Unions of the Grmec Work Organization, Vucko Stefanovic, officially asked for an opinion on further proceedings from Sava Mandic, public defender of self-management law for the city of Belgrade. Here is a portion of the statement from Comrade Mandic.

"... Accordingly, the initiative did not receive the necessary majority of the delegates of the workers' council and was not adopted. This means that you are referred for further action to Article 521 of the Law on Associated Labor, a referendum or court of associated labor, and Milan Dosen Majkic remains general director of the Grmec Work Organization.

"It is legally untenable to repeat the meeting of the Workers' Council of the Grmec Work Organization and to vote by open ballot, and the further action left to you is in accordance with Article 521 of the Law on Associated Labor...."

The opinion of the public defender of self-management law was delivered to the workers' council, the secretariat of the basic organization of the League of Communists and to all trade union executive committees in Grmec Industry.

This quote is from the end of the minutes of the meeting of the workers' council which was held 15 February 1979. At that time many believed that that was the real end of the tug-of-war over whether Dosen would remain in the position of director or not. Actually this was only the beginning of the intention to remove Dosen from this managerial position. Nor did the fact that a court that same June acquitted Dosen of errors he allegedly committed in his former enterprise bear fruit. A search was made, and it was a very stubborn one, for new evidence. Soon it was found, and it was arranged in the following order in a new document which insisted on expulsion of Dosen from the League of Communists:

"Because of disrupted self-management relations, because vital functions were disunited, because of disruption of the unity of action and ideological unity of the collective, because of disrupted work discipline, because of privatization of personnel policy, because of exceeding authority, because of unmonitored expenditure of public funds and wastefulness, because of inadequate effort in the fields of nationwide defense and social self-protection, because of the assumption of certain functions and poor business management, which led to a loss of reputation by the work organization both in Yugoslavia and abroad. And finally, because of failure to provide information and furnishing untruthful information."

The document was extensive and was drawn up in detail. In the end it could not have been otherwise. All the self-management forces were harnessed up and were unsparing in the time, knowledge and labor they spent to irrefutably establish that "Comrade Dosen Majkic did not deserve the position he holds, nor even membership in the League of Communists." There was only one more step left to take to bring the entire affair to an end after 1.5 years of pushing and pulling. That is, the document, or its content, was supposed to be accepted as well by the approximately 600 workers employed in this Zemun factory or by their representatives.

Secret--Open Ballot

The meetings of party organizations of all the basic organizations of associated labor were held simultaneously, and the report was adopted in them. The director Dosen unexpectedly even voted for it himself. At the meeting of party members of the Joint Staff Services, the department to which the

director belongs, Dosen was expelled from the League of Communists in an open ballot on the basis of this document. It is true that there was a little tug-of-war over the voting (the vote was repeated six times) and the counting of the votes, but in the judgment of a majority of those present democratic principles were respected.

Finally, on 14 May of this year the same document was presented to a meeting of the workers' council. The only item on the agenda was dismissal of the general director. The meeting lasted several hours and more or less everything that had happened in the meeting held 1.5 years previously was repeated at this meeting. There were charges against Dosen, but there were also people who defended him.

We will not present quotes from either. Certainly the reason is not the lack of space in the magazine, but the fact that they nevertheless repeated the discussions and opinions from the previous meetings. One statement does deserve particular attention, so that we are forced to give it:

Vladimir Panic, a worker in the asphalt plant: "This document contains no concrete evidence concerning Dosen's guilt.... The workers of Grmec are being called upon to vote the way someone else wishes. It was the same way when Dosen was brought here. What will happen if they take Dosen back into the party as soon as we dismiss him from his position?"

There was no response to this or countless other questions. However, it was an irrefutable fact that 17 of the 22 delegates of the workers' council were present at the meeting. In the secret ballot 8 were for dismissal, 7 against, and 2 ballots were declared invalid. According to the bylaws, a simple majority, that is, 12 delegates, had to vote in favor for Dosen to be dismissed. This means that the workers of Grmec had voted confidence in their director for the second time.

According to the interpretation obtained from knowledgeable people, every opportunity for removing Dosen from the post of director has been used up. Now comes the court. One can only guess whether they will now adopt that solution or look for some new solution. But many questions have remained after this incident. How is one to explain one pattern of behavior in an open ballot and another when the vote is secret? How does one account for this changeable mood?

Director Dosen is also a story in himself. In official quarters one can hear many objections to his work. There is good reason to ask whether he really is a suitable person to be director of Grmec. However, the entire procedure whereby he became director of this collective and everything that has occurred in the attempts to replace this man leave an ugly picture and understandably have made the workers disgusted.

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